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THE

CHRONICLE

OF THE

KINGS OF ENGLAND,

FROM

WILLIAM THE NORMAN

TO THE

DEATH OF GEORGE III.

Written after the Manner of

The Jewish Historians:

WITH

NOTES EXPLANATORY AND ILLUSTRATIVE.

London:

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1821.

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DEDICATION

TO THE

SWINISH MULTITUDE.

SOVEREIGN SWINE!

FOR your instruction and amusement, to improve your grovelling propensities, by teaching a due respect for yourselves, and a just estimate of your superiors, this history of your chief *drivers*, from the first mighty hog of Normandy to the present great and glorious hog of Hanover, is now dedicated.

When you read of their noble deeds in Church and State, of their exploits in the field and their wisdom in the cabinet; when you read of their fornications, their drinkings, their swearings, their oath-breakings, their adulteries, and abominations; when you read of their loving kindnesses to your predecessors; then will you marvel greatly, you will be filled with gratitude for their goodness, admiration for their wisdom, and you will say in your hearts, Truly, our leaders have been the *chief* of swine, and deserved, *par excellence*, to be the drivers thereof.

The title vouchsafed unto you by your sublime, beautiful, and pensioned godfather, EDMUND BURKE, you have long borne without the inheritance. To you it has been a barren sceptre, a title of great honour, but no emolument: instead of the comforts of swine, instead of your days being spent in eating, and drinking, and sleeping, they have been spent in watching, and toiling, and fasting. You have carried burdens like asses; you have laboured like horses; you have been kicked, cuffed, and beaten, like spaniels; you have been insulted and derided like monkeys; you have been kept as hungry as ravens, and you are now as lean as hounds.

In truth, you have not been the real swine of the land, only the *feeders* of swine; whom you have fed in courts, and churches, and palaces, where they wallow in ease, and luxury, and ignorance; where they feed, not on the husks, but the kernels; not on the crumbs of the rich, but the inheritance of the poor.

But let us return to the Chief Hogs. In the first book of Samuel, in the 8th chapter, beginning at the fifth verse, we read how the swine of Israel prayed for *a king;* how the prophet Samuel warned them of the consequence; how he told them a king would appoint their sons for his chariots and his footmen; to ear his corn, to till his ground, to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of chariots; how he would take their daughters for cooks, and confectioners, and bakers; how he would seize their fields, and their vineyards, and their olive-yards, *even the best of them,* and give them to his servants and his officers; how he would take their men-servants, their maid-servants, and their goodliest young men, and their asses, and put them to his work; how he would take the tenth of their seed, and their sheep, and their vineyards, and they would ALL be his servants; how they would cry out in the day of trouble because of the king they had chosen, and the Lord would not hear them on that day: nevertheless, the HOGS of Israel persisted in their prayer, and said, *Nay, but we will have a king over us;* and, behold, all that the prophet foretold, literally came to pass.

Let us pray. *We beseech thee,* Almighty Juggernaut, *to pardon our manifold sins and transgressions; look down with pity on our fallen state; feed our hunger, clothe our nakedness, cleanse our sties. Deliver us, we beseech thee, from the evils we are surrounded. Save us,* good Juggernaut, *from dungeons and spies, from Habeas Corpus Suspension Acts, from Seditious Meeting Bills, and Soldier Seduction Bills, from Whigs and Tories, from Brougham and Mackintosh, and Canning and Castlereagh. Confound our enemies of the* Daily Press, *who unceasingly labour to calumniate, misrepresent, and mislead thy People: make the knaves honest, we intreat thee; especially,* good Juggernaut, *deliver us from the tender mercies of* Mr. Barnes *and the* Times; *save us from the audacious lies of the* Mock Times; *grant that* Dr. Slop *may drink no more* punch; *grant that* Stuart *may never more receive his* pension *out of the public purse, that his* service of plate *may be returned to its rightful owners, even into the pockets of swine. Blot out the waning* SUN *of darkness and lies from the firmament; and, lastly, we entreat thee,* good Juggernaut, *to keep a watchful eye over our right trusty and well beloved cousin,* JAMES PERRY; *preserve him in a low and humble frame of mind; suffer him not to be swoln with the pomp, vanities, and vain glories of the world; grant that neither land, nor money, nor place, nor pension, nor the smiles of lords nor dukes, nor any*

thing in heaven above, nor in earth beneath, may tempt him from his duty as a faithful Chronicler; *and grant that he may not lavish his praise on borough-mongers, and pensioners, and sinecurists; but on liberty, patriotism, and righteousness.*

And we will ever pray, &c.

Having prayed for our enemies, let us now, HOGS, pray for ourselves, and then conclude. *Almighty Jupiter, whose everlasting throne is seated in the clouds, whose eye seeth, whose ear heareth, and whose potent arm sustaineth, every thing; whose awful nod shakes Olympus to its base; whose frown is famine, pestilence, and death, and whose gracious smile is sweeter than honey;* hear us! *We entreat thee to enlarge our hearts, to increase our knowledge, and make us wise unto political salvation. We entreat thee to enable us to distinguish* friends *from* foes. *We entreat thee to endow all our leaders with discretion, sagacity, and foresight. We entreat thee to take* Henry Hunt *into thy holy keeping: preserve him* prudent *and* valiant. *We beseech thee to continue* sir Francis Burdett *stedfast to the public cause, and our able and eloquent defender. We beseech thee to preserve the life of our venerable father,* Major Cartwright, *and may he live for ever. We entreat thee to spread abroad through England, Ireland, Scotland, and the uttermost parts of the earth, the republican and benevolent principles of* Thomas Paine. *We beseech thee to deliver out of the hands of the Philistines,* sir Charles Wolseley, Thomas Jonathan Wooler, Knight, Wroe, Fitton, Edmonds, *the* reverend Mr. Harrison, *and others of thy prosecuted servants. Lastly, we entreat thee to direct the counsels of the* people, *as heretofore, at Stockport, Birmingham, Manchester, Leeds, and Nottingham; then will our enemies be confounded;* RADICAL REFORM *triumph; corruption and borough-mongering be banished from the land; and the heart of* PORCUS *will rejoice, and he will sing,*

Glory! glory! glory!

PREFACE.

NATHAN BEN SADDI, *a servant of God, of the house of Israel, to all and every of his readers, whether Jew or Gentile, greeting. Notwithstanding that many have taken in hand to write the History of England, it seemed good unto me also, most excellent reader, to set forth in order some things that have happened since the conquest of* William *the* Norman. *Now this I have chosen to do in the manner of our forefathers, the ancient* Jewish historians, *as being not only the most concise, but most venerable way of writing. Howbeit, I would not that thou shouldest be offended, or take in evil part, that I have adventured to imitate those* sublime originals; *neither let it enter into thine heart, that I have done this thing in* sport, *or wantonness of wit; for verily I abound not therewith, as thou wilt undoubtedly perceive. Nevertheless, in perusing this* delectable history, *thou wilt meet with abundant matter both for information and amusement, and peradventure also for instruction. And it shall come to pass when thou readest of the* foolish kings *that have ruled the land, then shall thy soul be troubled, and thou shalt say within thyself,* How small a portion of sense sufficeth to govern a great kingdom! *But when thou readest of the kings that were wise and great, then shall thy heart be glad, and thou shalt compare the passed times with the present, and rejoice therein, and laugh exceedingly. Moreover thou wilt find, that the end of the first was bitterness and shame, but the end of the last was glory and honour: These shall be set up as a light unto kings in all ages, but those as a warning from generation to generation.*

THE

CHRONICLE

OF THE

KINGS OF ENGLAND.

I.—WILLIAM *the Conqueror.*

Now it came to pass, in the year one thousand sixty and six, in the month of September, on the eighth day of the month, that William of Normandy, surnamed the Bastard, landed in England, and pitched his tent in a field near the town of Hastings.

Then Harold the king, attended by all his nobles, came forth to meet him with a numerous army, and gave him battle.

Now it came to pass in the year one thousand sixty and six.] The historian carefully fixes the time of this memorable epoch in English history. The news of William's immense preparations had spread throughout Europe: his fame as a warrior, the great talents he had displayed in subduing the rebellious spirit of his own subjects, and in his war with the king of France, attracted to his standard adventurers from all parts, who were ambitious to seek renown under such a distinguished leader. From the prodigious numbers who flocked from all quarters, William selected an army of 60,000 brave and experienced veterans. Among the bold chieftains who engaged under his banner, and to whom he held up the spoils of England as the reward of their valour, we find the celebrated names of Eustace Count of Boulogne, Hugh d'Estaples, William d'Evereux, Roger de Montgomery, Charles Martel, and Geoffrey Giffard. The preparations being completed, William embarked his troops on 3000 vessels, assembled in the small river Dive, and set sail; having first received from the Pope his benediction, a consecrated banner, and a ring with one of St. Peter's hairs in it, to protect him in his undertaking.

Then Harold the king.] The rightful heir to the throne, in the Saxon line, was *Edgar Atheling;* but the pretensions of this weak and incapable prince were set aside to make way for Harold, the son of Earl Godwin, whose great talents, his bravery, affable and generous disposition, had gained the hearts of both the nobles and the people. Harold was stigmatized by William as a *perjured usurper;* but the truth is, his title was as valid as the title of many of his predecessors: for under the Saxons the succession to the crown was by no means hereditary; it was sometimes conferred by the suffrages of the people in their *Wittenagemot;* sometimes it was a testamentary grant from the preceding king; and not unfrequently, as was partly the case in the present instance, the reward of the personal qualities and successful intrigues of adventurers.

And it was fought from the rising of the sun even to the going down of the same.

But the Lord gave up Harold into the hands of his enemies, and he was pierced with an arrow, and his army was routed with exceeding great slaughter.

Then William the Bastard took on him the royal robes, and the sceptre and the diadem, and was made king of England, and was called the conqueror.

And he seized the coffers of king Harold; and the gold, and the silver, and the precious stones, and all the treasures he distributed to his followers.

And it was fought from the rising of the sun.] The Normans commenced the onset with great fury, singing the song of Roland, a famous peer of Charlemagne. The conflict long remained undecided; till, at length, by William feigning to retreat, and then suddenly turning upon his pursuers, it was decided in his favour. The slaughter was prodigious on both sides; William had three horses killed under him. *Hume* says 15,000 Normans were slain on the spot, and the loss of the vanquished was still more considerable.

But the Lord gave up Harold.] The conquered monarch acted like a brave and skilful general, and merited victory rather than defeat. His two brothers, Gurth and Leofwin, were slain, fighting bravely by his side. According to *Rapin*, his body was so disfigured by wounds, that it was hard to distinguish among the dead; but at length one of his mistresses discovered it, by certain private marks only known to herself. *Giraldus*, a stupid Monk, relates a stupid story, that the king was *not* slain; but fled to a cell near St. John's church, Chester, where he led for many years the life of a recluse. His body was given to his mother without ransom; and on the spot where he fell a monastery was erected, dedicated to St. Martin, called *Battle-Abbey*. In this abbey a list was kept of the noble families who came over with the Duke of Normandy; it was called *Battle-Abbey-Roll*, copies of which have been preserved by Stowe and Hollinshed.

Then William the Bastard.] The Conqueror was natural son of Robert, Duke of Normandy, by Harlotta, daughter of a tanner, in Falaise, with whom the Duke fell in love while she was dancing. The first night he slept with her, she dreamt that her bowels were extended all over England and Normandy? This was considered a good omen at the time; but, as *Rapin* shrewdly remarks, like many other omens, it was most probably forged after the event. It is curious to observe, that both the *Royalty*, and no inconsiderable part of the *Aristocracy* of this country, may shake hands, and boast the same *noble origin*.

And he seized the coffers of King Harold.] This plunder he distributed liberally among the clergy, both at home and abroad, who had forwarded so much his undertaking, and to whom he did not fail to show his gratitude and devotion, in a way most acceptable to them. The standard of the vanquished monarch he sent to the Pope, with many valuable presents; and all the considerable monasteries and churches of France, where prayers had been put up for his success, tasted of his bounty. The estates of Harold, as well as the estates of all those who fought on his side at the battle of Hastings, were confiscated. But, upon the whole, he conducted himself at the commencement of his reign with a moderation and forbearance which little accorded with his subsequent harshness and barbarity. He made a tour through the country, and by various acts of clemency and kindness endeavoured to conciliate the minds of his new subjects.

And he built a strong castle, and he fortified it with a wall and a ditch; and it is called the Tower of London unto this day.

And he subdued the land, and subjected it unto him; and that they might not rebel against him, he despoiled his subjects of all manner of instruments of war.

And he caused a survey to be taken of all the lands in the kingdom, and how much appertained to each person, which he wrote in a book called Doomsday-book.

And he built a strong castle.] The intolerable tyranny of William drove the people into continual rebellion; to retain them in subjection, he built castles at Lincoln, Cambridge, Huntingdon, York, Nottingham, and in various other parts of the country.

And he caused a survey to be taken.] This was the origin of the famous *Domesday* or *Doomsday-book*, the most valuable record in the kingdom. The following description of this celebrated antiquity is taken from the *Sixth volume of the Encyclopædia Britannica*:—"It consists of two volumes, a greater and a less. The first is a large "folio, written in 382 double pages of vellum, in a small but plain character; each "page having a double column. Some of the capital letters and principal passages "are touched with red ink, and some have strokes of red ink run across, as if scratched "out. This volume contains the description of 31 counties. The other volume is a "quarto, written upon 450 double pages of vellum, but in a single column, and on a "large and in a fair character. It contains the counties of Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, "part of the county of Rutland, included in that of Northampton, and part of Lincolnshire, in the counties of York and Chester."

Besides the above, there are a third and fourth volumes, kept in the Exchequer: but they are only abridgements of the two former. Until lately, all four have been kept under three different locks and keys; one in the custody of the Treasurer, and the others in the custody of the two Chamberlains of the Exchequer. They are now deposited in the Chapter-house, Westminster, where they may be consulted on paying a fee of 6*s*. 8*d*. for a search, and 4*d*. a line for a transcript. Only extracts from this ancient monument have ever been published; they contain many curious particulars of the ancient state of the country. But after all the survey, though carried on with great rigour for six years, was very incomplete. The monks of Croyland, in Lincolnshire, evaded giving any accurate account; many towns and cities then in existence were altogether omitted; and there was a general reluctance on the part of the people to give information, considering the inquiry only preparatory to some new impost.

Different reasons have been assigned by historians for this undertaking, which was more inquisitorial in its operation than the Income Tax. The most probable is, that it was to make the king acquainted with the exact income of every individual, that he might know the utmost burden he could bear. The survey was begun in the year 1080, and finished in 1086. It was conducted by Commissioners, consisting of Earls and Bishops, who summoned Juries in every hundred, out of all orders of freemen, from the Baron down to the lowest farmer. These Commissioners were to be informed, upon oath, of the name of each manor and its owner; by whom it was held in the time of Edward the Confessor; the number of hides; the quantity of wood, and pasture, and meadow; how many ploughs and fish ponds, whether it was capable of improvement; the value of the whole, and whether the owner was in debt, or had money owing him, &c.

The great Alfred, in his time, had finished a like survey of the kingdom, which was long kept at Winchester, and which probably served as a model for the Norman. The

And he raised a tribute from every one, according to his substance, and oppressed them greatly.

Moreover he made a law, and caused it to be observed throughout the whole kingdom, that at the ringing of a bell, all his subjects, from the greatest even unto the least, should extinguish their fires, and suffer no light to appear in their houses upon pain of death.

So it was called the curfew-bell; and at the sound thereof the lights were extinguished, and our fathers slept in the dark.

These are the acts of William the Bastard; who, after he had reigned twenty and one years, died, and was buried in his own tomb at Rouen, in Normandy, and Rufus, his son, reigned in his stead.

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name of the book, Doomsday, was most probably given, from its containing such a minute account of every person as is generally expected to be given at the day of judgement and resurrection. Stowe assigns another reason—but enough of Doomsday-book.

And he raised a tribute from every one.] His avarice was insatiable. He held as crown lands 1422 manors, besides abundance of farms and lands in Middlesex, Shropshire, and Rutlandshire. His fixed annual income, exclusive of fines, escheats, reliefs, and other casual profits, was computed at £400,000; a sum which will appear, as Hume says, incredible, if the circumstances of the times are considered. A pound in that age contained three times the weight of silver that it does now, and the same weight of silver would purchase near ten times more of the necessaries of life. The revenue, therefore, of William would be equal, at least, to nine or ten millions at present; and as he had neither fleet nor army to support, (the former being only an occasional expense, and the latter being maintained, without any charge to him, by his military vassals,) we must thence conclude, that no emperor or prince, in any age or nation, can be compared to the Conqueror for riches and opulence. *Vide Hume's Hist.* vol. i. p. 277.

So it was called the curfew-bell.] Voltaire, in his *Letters on the English Nation*, remarks, that on the establishment of the Curfew, or cover-fire bell, William appeared wishful to make an experiment how far the caprice of power might be extended over a suffering and conquered people. The dreadful measures resorted to by the Norman may be gathered from his treatment of the brave Northumbrians. The country which lies between the Humber and the Tees, owing to the restless disposition of the inhabitants, he gave orders for laying entirely waste. The houses were reduced to ashes by the merciless Normans; the cattle seized and driven away; the instruments of husbandry destroyed; and for the miserable inhabitants, many of them were compelled either to seek refuge in Scotland, or they perished in the woods from cold and hunger. The lives of a hundred thousand persons are computed to have been sacrificed in this massacre and desolation.

These are the acts of William the Bastard.] William was so little ashamed of his birth, that he assumed the appellation of Bastard in some of his letters and charters. Hume gives the following account of his last acts, and the origin of his war with Philip, King of France.—"His displeasure," says he, "was increased by some account of the railleries which that monarch had thrown out against him. William, who was become corpulent, had been detained in bed some time by sickness; upon which Philip expressed his surprise that he should be so long in being delivered of his big belly. The king sent him word, that as soon as he was up he would present so many lights at Notre-Dame, as would, perhaps, give little pleasure to the king of France;

alluding to the usual practice at that time of women after child-birth. Immediately on his recovery, he led his army into L'Isle de France, and laid every thing waste with fire and sword. He took the town of Mantes, which he reduced to ashes. But the progress of these hostilities were stopped by an accident which soon after put an end to William's life. His horse starting aside of a sudden, he bruised his belly against the pommel of the saddle; and being in a bad habit of body, as well as somewhat advanced in years, he began to apprehend the consequences, and ordered himself to be carried in a litter to the monastery of St. Gervas. Finding his illness increase, and being sensible of the approach of death, he discovered, at last, the vanity of all human grandeur, and was struck with remorse for those horrible cruelties and acts of violence, which, in the attainment and defence of it, he had committed during the course of his reign over England."—Vol. i. p. 280.

Application.

William expired in the sixty-third year of his age, in the twenty-first year of his reign over England, and in the fifty-fourth of that over Normandy. In his younger years he was handsome and well proportioned. He had rather a stern and majestic, than a mild and taking countenance; however, we are told, he could sometimes put on such gentleness and sweetness in his looks, as were hardly to be resisted. We may guess his strength and vigour, from historians assuring us, none but himself could bend his bow. The same writers are much divided concerning his chastity. Some say he was very much addicted to women in his youth; others tell us, that his little inclination that way gave occasion to call his manhood in question. Few princes have been more fortunate or were better entitled to grandeur and prosperity, from the abilities and vigour he displayed in all his conduct. His spirit was bold and enterprising, yet guided by prudence. His ambition, which was exorbitant, and lay little under the restraints of justice, still less under those of humanity, ever submitted to the dictates of sound policy. Born in an age when the minds of men were untractable and unacquainted with submission, he was yet able to direct them to his purposes; and partly from the ascendant of his vehement character, partly from art and dissimulation, to establish an unlimited authority. The maxims of his administration were austere, and ill calculated for softening the rigours, which, under the most gentle management, are inseparable from conquest. Except the former conquest of England by the Saxons, who, from peculiar circumstances, proceeded to exterminate the natives, it would be difficult to find in all history a revolution more destructive, or attended with a more complete subjection of the ancient inhabitants. Contumely was wantonly added to oppression; and the unfortunate natives were universally reduced to such a state of meanness and poverty, that for ages the English name became a term of reproach; and several generations elapsed before one single family of Saxon pedigree was raised to any considerable honours, or could so much as attain the rank of baron of the realm. An attempt was even made to abolish the English language; and for that purpose William ordered that in all schools throughout the kingdom the youth should be instructed in the French tongue; a practice continued from custom till the reign of Edward III. and which has never indeed been totally discontinued. The pleadings in the supreme courts of judicature were in French: the deeds were often drawn in the same language: the laws were composed in that idiom: no other tongue was used at court: it became the language of all fashionable company: and the English themselves, ashamed of their own country, affected to excel in this foreign dialect.

The entire subjugation of the people, however, was still more shockingly evinced by the formation of the *New Forest*, in Hampshire, in violation of every principle of justice and humanity. The Normans, as well as ancient Saxons, were passionately fond of the chase, and none more so than the Conqueror. Not content with those large forests which former kings possessed in all parts of England, he resolved to make a new forest near Winchester, the usual place of his residence. For that purpose he laid waste the country for an extent of thirty miles, expelled the inhabitants from their houses, seized their property, demolished thirty-six churches, besides convents, and

made the sufferers no compensation for the injury. At the same time, he enacted new laws, by which he prohibited all his subjects from hunting in any of his forests, and ordained the most dreadful penalties for their violation. The killing of a deer or boar, or even a hare, was punished with the loss of the delinquent's eyes; and that, too, at a time when the killing of a man could be atoned for by paying a moderate fine or composition. Our present *Game Laws* are, as *Blackstone* remarks, a "*bastard slip*" of these savage enactments. In the New Forest are now to be found nine walks; each walk has a keeper, two rangers, a bow-bearer, and lord-warden. Report says, but we never saw the phænomenon ourselves, that there is an oak on the north side of Malwood-castle, which buds on *Christmas*-day and withers again before night!

Besides three sons who survived him, William had five daughters; Cicely, a nun in the monastery of Feschamp, afterwards abbess in the *Holy Trinity*, at Caen; Constantia, married to the Earl of Brittany; Alice, contracted to Harold; Adela, married to the Earl of Blois; and Agatha, who died a virgin, though betrothed to the King of Gallicia.

It only now remains to notice a few remarkable occurrences omitted by our author, but mentioned by *profane historians*, and then our illustration of this reign will be completed. 1. William brought the Jews from Roanne to inhabit in England. 2. The *Feudal system*, if not introduced, (which is disputed by some writers,) was more completely organized by the Conqueror. He divided all the lands, with very few exceptions besides the royal demesnes, into baronies; these baronies were again let out to knights or vassals, who paid the lord the same submission in peace or war which he himself paid to his sovereign. The whole kingdom contained about 700 chief tenants, and 60,215 knights'-fees; none of the natives were admitted into the first rank, but were glad to be received into the second, and thus be the dependants of some powerful Norman. 3. In his reign, or about that time, surnames came first to be used. 4 Trial by battle was introduced into the kingdom. 5. The Normans brought in a new way of creating knights, and the use of seals and witnesses in all deeds and instruments. Before that time, or at least before the reign of Edward the Confessor, the parties only set down their names with a cross before them. Lastly, the Normans introduced the foolish practice of common swearing. The Conqueror used to swear by *the resurrection and splendour of God*; his successor, William Rufus, by *St. Luke's face*. King John swore by *God's teeth*; Charles II. by *cod's fish*; George III, the Prince Regent, and the rest of the Royal Family, have no peculiar oath, but generally swear after the manner of their subjects. In the year 1076 there was an earthquake, and a frost from the beginning of November to the middle of April; and in 1089 there was a fire in London, which destroyed the greatest part of the city, and St. Paul's Cathedral.

II.—WILLIAM RUFUS.

Now Rufus was thirty and one years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England twelve years and ten months, and his mother's name was Matilda.

Now Rufus was thirty and one years old,—and his mother's name was Matilda.] *Rufus*, or the *Red*, being so called from the colour of his hair. Notwithstanding the unfavourable reports as to the manhood of the Conqueror, Queen Matilda was extremely jealous of his favours; and, in a fit of revenge, she ordered one of his mistresses, a clergyman's daughter, to be hamstringed.—*Rapin*, vol. 1. p. 127.

And he was a very wicked man, and his heart was set to do live continually; and he contemned the gods of his fathers, and believed not; he banished all the priests, and converted the sacred revenues to his own use.

Wherefore the Lord smote him with sickness, and his sickness seemed unto death.

Then his heart trembled within him, and he repented him of his sin; and he sent for the high priest, and besought him, saying, . I have done evil in the sight of the Lord, in seizing the vacant bishopricks; wherefore now, I pray thee, take back the things which belong to the church, that it may be well with me, and that my soul may live.

Howbeit, when the sickness left him, he forgot all that he had promised, and returned to his evil ways.

And he was a very wicked man.] All historians agree in the reprobate character of this prince. He is described as neither religious, nor chaste, nor temperate;—that he had neither honour, nor conscience, nor faith; and, what was worse, he was proud of appearing as such. He is accused of denying a Providence, and maintained that prayers are vain and impertinent. Malmsbury relates, that he once ordered some Bishops and Rabbies to meet together, and fairly dispute the question of their religion in his presence; promising the Rabbies he would be circumcised, if their arguments were stronger than the Christians. As another instance of his impiety, we are told, that he once accepted sixty marks from a Jew, whose son had been converted to Christianity, and who engaged him by that present to assist him in bringing back the youth to Judaism. William laboured hard to accomplish his point; but finding persuasion and menaces of no avail, he sent for the father, and told him, that as he had not succeeded, it was not just that he should keep the present; but as he had done his utmost, it was right he should be paid for his pains, and he had therefore retained thirty marks of the money.

I have done evil in the sight of the Lord, in seizing the vacant bishopricks.] The Bishops taking advantage of his illness, exhorted him, without delay, to restore the vacant benefices he had seized. They represented to him what an obstacle it was to his salvation, to withhold from them the revenues of the church, contrary to the intent of the donors. Having no hope of recovery, he readily complied with their request. He nominated Robert Bloet to the bishopric of Lincoln, and for Archbishop of Canterbury made choice of Anselm, Abbot of Bec, in Normandy, a very austere man.

Howbeit, when the sickness left him, he forgot all that he had promised.] His profaneness returned with his health; his repentance proceeding from the fear of death, not conviction of error. The prisoners commanded to be freed, were, by his order, more closely confined, and those who were set at liberty were again thrown into prison. Extortion, injustice, and rapine, were as prevalent as ever. Altogether, from the description of *Rapin*, the country exhibited the same atrocities we now observe under the *mild* sway of the *Boroughmongers*. "The administration of justice (says he) was in the hands of such as took more care to *enrich themselves*, than discharge the *duties* of their respective offices. ALL WERE POOR BUT THOSE WHO HAD THE FINGERING OF THE PUBLIC MONEY. To be in *favour* with the king, it was necessary to be *without honour or conscience*: None but *informers* met with *encouragement*. These dis-

Nevertheless he was a valiant prince, and he fought against the Welch, and discomfited them, and drove them into the mountains, and conquered the southern part of the country.

And Malcolm also, king of the Scots, made war upon him; but he slew him in battle, and put his army to flight.

And in these days were great divisions in the church, and Urban the pope bethought himself how he might put an end to them; and he sent messengers to all the princes of Christendom, saying, Behold now, O ye Christian princes, the infidels have taken the city of Jerusalem, even the city of our God; they have possessed themselves of the holy land, and profaned the sacred places: wherefore now, I pray ye, let us unite together, and drive them from the face of the earth, to the end that the holy city may be delivered from the pollutions of evil-doers, and from the scorn of unbelievers.

So all the Christian princes united together, and raised a numerous army; and they distinguished themselves by a red cross, which they wore on the upper garment, wherefore this expedition was called the the Crusade; and they marched into Palestine, and besieged the holy city, and took it.

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orders forced *many honest men* to resolve to quit the kingdom, and seek elsewhere that tranquillity they could not find in their native country." How exact the picture!—Vol. 1. p. 144.

Nevertheless he was a valiant prince] As a proof of his generosity, it is related of him, that while besieging a fortress of Normandy, riding out alone, he was suddenly attacked by two soldiers, and dismounted. One of them drew his sword to dispatch him; when the king exclaimed, *Hold knave! I am the King of England.* The soldier suspended his blow; and raising the king from the ground, with expressions of respect, received a handsome reward, and was taken into his service.

And Malcolm also—but he slew him in battle.] In looking into several *profane writers*, we find that William did not command the army in this war, but Robert de Mowbray, then governor of the northern parts; and the Scotch historian *Buchanan* says, that the King of Scotland was slain by a base stratagem of the English: Malcolm having reduced the castle of Alnwick to extremity, the besieged were forced to surrender, and only desired that the king in person would receive the keys of the gates, which were brought by a soldier upon the top of a lance, who, standing within the wall, thrust the point of the lance into the king's eye, as he was going to take them.

So all the Christian princes united together—wherefore this expedition was called the Crusade.] This is the most memorable event in the history of fanaticism. PETER the hermit, a native of Amiens, in Picardy, had the honour of originating the holy enterprise for rescuing Jerusalem from the Infidels. Having made a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, he saw with indignation the oppression under which the Christians groaned; and formed the bold, and, in all appearance, the impracticable project, of leading into Asia, from the farthest extremities of the West, armies sufficient to subdue those warlike nations, who held them in subjection. He proposed his views to Martin II. who then filled the

William Rufus.

And it came to pass in those days, that the sea overflowed its banks, insomuch that great part of the lands of Earl Godwin, in Kent, were overwhelmed and lost in the sea; and the place is called Godwin's Sands unto this day.

Papal chair; but though sensible of the advantages he must reap from a religious war, as head of the church, the Pope at first declined to embark in the gigantic enterprise. Indefatigable in his object, Peter continued to howl through the different countries of Europe, the horrible pollution of the holy sepulchre. His perseverance had its natural effect; and he at last succeeded in imparting his own zeal and enthusiasm, through the kingdoms he travelled. A council was summoned at Clermont; where the greatest princes, nobles, and prelates assembled; and the *Hermit* and the *Pope* renewing their pathetic exhortations, the whole assemblage, as if impelled by inspiration, exclaimed, *It is the will of God! It is the will of God!*

Such a tumult now arose as had never been seen before nor since; and Europe, as Hume says, appeared loosened from its foundations to be precipitated in one united body upon the East. All orders of men, deeming the Crusades the only road to heaven, enlisted themselves under the sacred banners, and were impatient to open their way, with the sword, to the *holy city*. Nobles, artizans, peasants, and priests enrolled their names: and to decline this godly enterprise was branded as impiety, or, what was deemed as disgraceful, cowardice and pusillanimity. The infirm and aged contributed to the expedition by presents and money; and many of them, not satisfied with the merit of this atonement, attended in person, determined, if possible, to breathe their last in sight of that city where a carpenter's son had died. Women themselves, concealing their sex under the disguise of armour, attended the camp, and, rather inconsistently with their holy undertaking, prostituted themselves, without reserve, to the army.* The greatest criminals were forward in a service which they regarded as a propitiation for all crime; and the most enormous disorders were, during these expeditions, committed by men inured to wickedness, encouraged by example, and impelled by necessity. The multitude of adventurers became so great, that their more sagacious leaders became apprehensive lest the greatness of the enterprise itself should disappoint its purpose: they permitted an undisciplined multitude, computed at 300,000 men, to go before them, under the command of the Hermit and Walter the Moneyless. This bedlam rabble took the road towards Constantinople, through Bulgaria; and, trusting that heaven would supply them with all their necessaries, they made no provision for subsistence on their march. They soon found themselves obliged to obtain by plunder what they had vainly expected from miracles; and the enraged inhabitants of the countries through which they passed, gathering together in arms, attacked and slaughtered them without resistance. The more disciplined armies followed, and, passing the Straits of Constantinople, they were mustered in the plains of Asia, and amounted, in the whole, to 700,000 combatants.†

England was the least infected of any country in Europe with this general frenzy; principally from the character of William, who made the romantic chivalry of the Crusade the object of his perpetual raillery. His brother Robert, Duke of Normandy, however, was a victim to the general contagion, and mortgaged, or rather sold, his dominions to William for ten thousand marks, to enable him to appear in a suitable rank at the head of his vassals in this crazy enterprise. The king raised the money by violent extortion, and compelled the monks even to melt their plate to furnish the quota demanded of them.

And it came to pass in those days, the sea overflowed—and the place is called Godwin's Sands.] This celebrated sand bank runs parallel to the coast for three leagues to-

* Hume, vol. i. p 297. † Matthew Paris, p. 20, 21.

And Rufus builded a great hall, the like of which had not been seen in England; the length thereof was two hundred and seventy feet, and the breadth thereof was seventy and four feet; and he called it Westminster Hall.

And it came to pass on a certain day, as he hunted in the forest which his father had made, that he was slain with an arrow; and his body was carried in a cart to the city of Winchester, and was buried there: and Henry, his brother, reigned in his stead.

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gether, at about two leagues and a half distance, and affords a great protection to that capacious road the Downs. It formerly occupied a tract of ground belonging to Godwin, Earl of Kent, father of King Harold, and which afterwards being given to the monastery of St. Augustine, at Canterbury, the abbot neglected to keep in repair the wall that defended it from the sea, and the whole tract was drowned, leaving those Sands on which so many ships have been wrecked.

And Rufus builded a great hall.] This is the largest room in Europe; but, notwithstanding its extraordinary dimensions, William thought it too small, and said it hardly deserved to be called a bed-chamber, in comparison of the extent he designed it. It was originally intended as a place for the entertainment of the king's guests and dependants. Richard II. once accommodated 10,000 persons within its walls; and it is still used for coronation feasts. Parliaments have frequently been held beneath its roof, and it was the court of justice where the king presided in person. In this Hall Charles I. was tried and condemned to be beheaded. At present it is occasionally fitted up for the trial of peers, and persons impeached by the Commons. At other times it forms a promenade for lawyers and suitors during the sittings of the adjoining courts.

And it came to pass on a certain day, as he hunted.] Malmsbury relates, that, as the king was going to mount his horse, he was told that a certain monk had dreamt a dream which portended no good to him. William, caring little about such presages, answered, jestingly, he plainly saw that the monk wanted money, so ordered him a hundred shillings, and sent him word to dream better dreams in future. The circumstances of this monarch's death are differently related by historians. The most probable account is the following.—He was engaged in hunting, the chief amusement, and almost only occupation of princes in those times, in the New Forest: towards the evening, William, having wounded a stag, was pursuing him full speed, when Walter Tyrrell, a French gentleman, shooting at the same stag, the arrow glanced from a tree and pierced the king to the heart. Tyrrell instantly put spurs to his horse, and, without informing any one of the accident, hastened to the sea-shore, embarked for France, and joined the Crusade in an expedition to Jerusalem, a penance he imposed on himself for this involuntary crime. The body of William was found in the forest by the country people, and buried, next day, without pomp or ceremony. Every one was occupied with his successor, and besides the Prince was so little beloved that no one cared showing much regret at a death considered a happy deliverance from oppression.

His tomb of grey marble, somewhat raised from the ground, may still be seen in the middle of the choir of Winchester Cathedral. During the Civil Wars, in the reign of Charles I. the parliamentarians broke open his monument, but they found only the dust of the king, some relics of cloth of gold, a large gold ring, and a chalice of silver.

APPLICATION.

William was slain on the 2d of August, in the year 1100, in the forty-fourth year of his age, after a reign of twelve years, ten months, and twelve days. He met his

death in the same place where his brother and nephew had perished by no less extraordinary an accident; a circumstance which, in those superstitious days, made all men exclaim, that as the Conqueror had been guilty of extreme violence in driving out the inhabitants of the New Forest, to make room for his game, the just vengeance of heaven was signalized in the same place by the destruction of his posterity.

William being no friend to the clergy, they have done all in their power to blacken his character. But though we may suspect in general that their account of his vices is somewhat exaggerated, his history affords sufficient reason for not attributing to him any very estimable qualities. He seems to have been a violent and tyrannical prince; a perfidious, encroaching, and dangerous neighbour; an unkind and ungenerous enemy. He was equally rapacious and prodigal in the management of his revenue; and, it is related, that his valet one day bringing him a new pair of breeches, which cost but *three shillings*, he flew into a violent passion, and ordered him never to bring him any but what cost, at least, a mark.

The monuments which remain of William, are the wall round the Tower, which he ordered to be erected; Westminster-hall, already mentioned; and London-bridge which he built. Among the remarkable occurrences of this reign, we may notice the violent quarrel betwixt the clergy and laity, relative to *long-toed shoes*. It was the fashion in that age, both among men and women, throughout Europe, to give an enormous length to the shoes, to draw the toe to a sharp point, and to fix to it a bird's bill, or some such ornament, turned upwards, and which was often sustained by gold or silver chains tied to the knee. The ecclesiastics took exception to the long toe, which they said was an *impious* attempt to *parody* the scripture, where it is affirmed that no man can add a cubit to his stature; and they declaimed against it with great vehemence, and assembled councils and synods, who actually condemned the long toe as a profane and wicked device to bring the word of God into *disrepute*. But such, says Hume, are the strange contradictions of human nature, that though the clergy, at that time, could overturn thrones, and had authority to send above a million of men on *their* errand to the deserts of Asia, they could never prevail against long-toed shoes! Had the noble historian lived in our time, he would have witnessed a paradox still more surprising. He would have seen the influence of the clergy so far prevail as to punish a man, called Russell, for a parody as harmless and ridiculous as a long-toed shoe; and his surprise would have been still more heightened, when he learnt that another person had been acquitted for the same offence, tried in the same country, under the same laws, and by the same judge!

III.—HENRY I.

Now Henry was a learned man, and a prince of exceeding great wisdom, insomuch that he was surnamed *Beauclerk;* and he set himself to enact good laws, and to govern the people wisely.

Now Henry was a learned man—surnamed Beauclerk.] This was the most accomplished prince that ever sat on the throne, and possessed all the great qualities, both of body and mind, which could fit him for his exalted station. His person was manly, and his countenance engaging. His superior eloquence and judgment would have given him an ascendant had he been born in a private station, and his personal bravery

And he restored to the English the privilege of having lights in their houses after the ringing of the curfew-bell.

And he granted a charter, whereby he confirmed the rights of the church, and relinquished his claim to the vacant bishopries; and he forgave all debts due to the crown, all offences committed before his coronation, and confirmed the statutes of Edward the Confessor.

Moreover, he ordained that the length of his own arm should be the standard measure throughout the kingdom, and it is called a yard unto this day.

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would have always procured him respect. He was surnamed *Beauclerk*, or the scholar, from his great acquirements in literature; which he cultivated without relaxing in the least in his activity and vigilance to the affairs of government. The manner in which he acquired possession of the throne, in opposition to his elder brother, may seem to detract from the merit of his character; but it ought to be remembered, that the succession was then regulated by no fixed principle, and was frequently the reward of the bravest and the most intriguing. On the sudden death of William, Henry repaired to Winchester, in order to secure the royal treasure, which he considered a most important instrument for facilitating his way to the crown. He had scarcely reached the place, when William de Breteuil, keeper of the treasure, arrived, and opposed himself to Henry's pretensions. But Henry, drawing his sword, threatened him with instant death if he dared to disobey him; when Breteuil and other nobles, withdrawing their opposition, he was crowned king three days after in London.

And he granted a charter.] The provisions of this charter were confined entirely to the clergy and barons; the great mass of the people were no more considered a fit object for legislation, at that day, than the ground they cultivated. Among other provisions of this charter, Henry ordained that the nobles might marry their daughters without the king's leave, provided it was not to the enemies of the state. He consented that the heirs of earls and barons on a death, should not be obliged to redeem their estates, but pay only a relief. He appointed the mothers and nearest relations guardians to minors, and made a standard of weights and measures throughout the kingdom. These were the principal provisions; and the charter being approved by the lords, spiritual and temporal, as many copies were transcribed as there were counties in the kingdom, and sent to the principal monasteries.

But with whatever solemnity and apparent sincerity this charter was granted, it is certain that the king, after the present purpose was served, never once thought during his reign of observing a single article of it; and the whole fell so much into neglect and oblivion, that in the following century, when the barons, who had heard an obscure tradition of it, desired to make it the model of the great charter which they exacted from King John, they could with difficulty find a copy of it in the kingdom. But as to the grievances which it was meant to redress, they were still continued in the full extent; and the royal authority in all those particulars lay under no manner of restriction. The relief of heirs, owing to the vague manner in which it was expressed, afforded no additional security to the subject; and this important grievance was never effectually removed till the time of Magna Charta. The oppression of wardship and marriage was perpetuated till the reign of Charles II.; and it appears from Glanville, that, in his time, the reign of Henry II. when any man died intestate, an accident which must frequently have occurred, when the art of writing was so little known, the king as the lord of the fief, pretended to seize all the moveables and exclude every heir, even the children of the deceased: a sure mark, as Hume says, of a tyrannical and arbitrary government!

Henry the First.

And he instituted the high court of parliament, and assembled them together in the city of Salisbury; he appointed also the watch.

And he instituted the High Court of Parliament.] This seems doubtful. Polydore Virgil, Hollinshed, and Speed, indeed, say that Parliament was first summoned at Salisbury, in the 16th of this king; but sir Walter Ralegh, in his Treatise on Prerogative, says it was the 18th. Lord Bacon asks, "*where were the Commons before the reign of Henry the First.?*" Where indeed! But we may infer from this, that, in Bacon's opinion, they began in this reign. Dr. Heylin says it was not till the reign of Henry II. We need not feel any surprise that this question, like the origin of every thing else, should be perplexed and mysterious. The most interesting question at this day, is, not when parliaments began, but when they will end.

Upon the whole, it seems, the general outline of parliament, as it now stands, was not described till the granting of Magna Charta, in the year 1215. The oldest writs extant for summoning knights, citizens, and burgesses to parliament are not dated till even 50 years after that time, namely, in the year 1266, 49 Henry III. As to the persons entitled to vote for members of parliament the statute of Henry IV. is the most important. That statute enacts that, at the County Court, after proclamation, "*all they that be there present*, as well suitors duly summoned as OTHERS, shall attend to the election of knights for the parliament." But the term "OTHERS" leaves the question in the air. What classes were included under that appellation? Did it include ALL SWINE, or only some portion of the herd? Were bondmen and villains admitted, or only suitors and some other persons connected with the County Court? We cannot answer these questions, nor do we think it is possible to answer them, nor do we think it of much importance provided they were answered: happily, the rights of SWINE rest on a much better foundation than the word "others," or any dubious act of Parliament.

If ALL SWINE were in possession of the right of voting in this reign, they suffered themselves to be shorn of it very tamely, shortly after, by his imbecile successor, Henry VI. The famous disfranchising statute of that monarch, after complaining that "elections had been made by very *great, outrageous, and excessive numbers of people*, dwelling within the same counties of the realm of England, of which the most part were people of *small substance*," enacts, that knights of the shire are hereafter to be chosen "by people dwelling and resident in the same counties, whereof every one of them shall have *free land or tenement to the value of* FORTY SHILLINGS, by the year, at least, above all charges."—Stat. Hen. VI. c. 7.

As to the duration of parliaments, that also was uncertain; sometimes there were two or more parliaments in a year, and sometimes there was not one assembled in several years. They were in fact sessional, and had no fixed time of duration. No such thing as proroguing the same parliament from year to year was then known; they were always assembled for some specific object, and when that was attained, they were dissolved, and for the next occasion there was a fresh parliament as well as a fresh speaker. This can be proved incontestably from the names of the speakers having been preserved as well as of the members who sat for different boroughs in the kingdom.

There can be no doubt but parliaments, general councils, or something of that character, are as old as the monarchy; it is not probable the government would ever be carried on by the king alone, without the aid of some such assemblage. We may conclude, therefore, that parliaments are coeval with the kingdom itself, and that they have been variously modified in name and nature, till they have at last terminated in the monstrosity we now behold. The *Wittenagemot* of the Saxons appears to have been a multitudinous and not a very select assembly, if we may credit the following extract from Hume:—"Security was provided by the Saxon laws to all members of the Wittenagemot, both in going and returning, EXCEPT *they were notorious thieves and robbers.*"—Vol. i. p. 208.

Now the rest of the acts of king Henry, the lampreys that he ate, and the children that he begat, are they not written in the book of Baker the historian?

And Henry reigned over England thirty and five years, and he died, and Stephen earl of Boloign reigned in his stead.

As to the word parliament, it comes from the French, *parler*, to speak; and parliament implies a *speaking* or *debating assembly*. The honourable members, if they have belied every other part of their functions, have not belied their name; for they still continue a *speaking assembly*.

Now the rest of the acts of King Henry, the lampreys he ate—the children he begat—Baker the Historian.] Lampreys were Henry's favourite dish; but, unfortunately, they agreed better with his palate than his constitution. It was eating of this food to excess that caused his death. As to "*the children he begat*," they were very numerous: he had twelve natural children by his different mistresses, and only one legitimate child. Twelve to one appears a frightful disproportion, even for a king: but probably it is not greater than usually subsists betwixt the lawfully and unlawfully begotten offspring of monarchs. They are exposed to many temptations, and it cannot be expected they will always be invulnerable. *Baker the historian.* This is the great Sir Richard Baker, who, with the exception of our great author, was the greatest chronicler the world ever produced. He wrote three prodigious tomes, containing a minute history of English kings from the time of the Romans to that of the first Charles. Edward Phillips, nephew to Milton, the celebrated author of "*Paradise Lost*," added a continuation. For a long time it was a famous book among the country gentlemen; and it was from this storehouse of knowledge, they extracted those bright ideas, with which the world for the last century has been so marvellously illuminated. It was the great ornament of the hall of Sir Roger de Coverley, and was to be found in almost every squire's hall in the kingdom. Sir Richard himself appears to have thought highly of his performance, for he says, "It is collected with such great care and diligence, that if *all other chronicles were lost, this only would be sufficient to inform posterity of all passages memorable or worthy to be known.*" This worthy knight too had the modesty to write his own life, but an ill-starred son-in-law thought proper, after his decease, to commit it to the flames; and thus was the world deprived of that, no doubt, delectable history.

And Henry reigned over England thirty and five years.] Henry was in the sixty-eighth year of his age when he died. Before his death, he ordered all his debts to be punctually paid, and all arrears due to him to be remitted. In his will he bequeathed to his domestics £60,000, a prodigious sum in those days. His body was embalmed, or rather salted, after the rude manner of the age, and he was interred in the Abbey of Reading. Upon the suppression of the abbeys, his royal bones were thrown out to make room for a stable of horses. The monastery is now a house. "*Sic transit gloria mundi!*"

APPLICATION.

Few princes exhibit a more shining character than the first Henry. He was learned, courageous, and accomplished; and, moreover, possessed a powerful capacity, both in civil and military affairs. Having, however, at the commencement, sketched the character of this first of gentlemen, and almost first of kings, we shall notice some of the most important events in his history.

There were then, as well as now, great disputes in religion, and the objects in dispute were of nearly equal importance. The power and influence of the clergy were in their meridian. They possessed a great part of the power and property of the community, and exercised an unbounded sway over the minds of the deluded people. On the subject of investitures and homage, there were violent disputes betwixt the King and his Holiness. Before bishops took possession of their dignities, they had formerly been

accustomed to pass through two ceremonies; they received from the hand of the king a ring and crozier, as symbols of their office; and this was called their *investiture*: they also made the submission to the prince, which was required of vassals by the rights of the feudal law, and which received the name of *homage*. On both these important points, there was a long contest betwixt Henry and the Pope. The King said he would sooner lose his crown than part with the right of investiture; and the Pontiff said he would sooner lose his head than allow him to retain it. "It is monstrous," said his Holiness, "that the son should pretend to get his father, or a man to create his God: priests are called gods in scripture as being the vicars of God: and will you by your abominable pretensions, assume the right of creating them?" This appears very plausible: nevertheless, Henry was inflexible in resisting the pretensions of the see of Rome. The Prince was on the point of being damned eternally, and the people were on the point of rebellion on account of his obstinacy, when the dispute was at length adjusted, by Henry abandoning the right of investiture, but retaining the homage.

The celibacy of the clergy was also a subject much agitated during this reign. Priests were forbidden to marry, or, if married, to lie with their wives. This gave rise to an evil far more flagitious: sodomy became very prevalent among the clergy, and it then became necessary to issue canons for the punishment of that unnatural crime. Cardinal de Crema, the pope's legate, at a synod, held in London, declared it to be an unpardonable enormity that a priest should dare to touch and consecrate the body of Christ immediately after rising from the side of a strumpet, that being the decent appellation he gave to the wives of the clergy. Somehow it happened that the very next night the officers of justice, breaking into a disorderly house, found the same Cardinal in bed with a whore; an accident which, Hume says, threw such ridicule upon the good man, that he stole out of the kingdom; the synod broke up, and the canons against the marriage of clergymen were worse executed than ever.

The revenue of the crown was principally collected in kind, and, from the difficult communication betwixt different parts of the country, was an operation not easily performed. This was the reason why the King held his court at various parts of the kingdom; for his subjects being unable to bring their produce, he went among them to fetch it; the King and his household travelling through different parts of the country, and fixing their abode in different districts, till they had consumed the amount of contribution. This may be considered the pastoral life of kings; the monarch, like the patriarchs of old, moving about among his subjects to find subsistence for his flock. Some part of the taxes, however, were paid in money, but, from the scarcity of coin, it must have been to a trifling extent. The sheriff, an officer of great power and importance in those days, was the principal person employed in the collection and levying of imposts. The value of money was so great, that a shilling would purchase as much corn as would serve an hundred men a day; and for a groat, which was the price of a sheep, as much hay and oats as twenty horses could eat in the same time. Stealing was first made capital in this reign. The laws respecting *Game* continued as sanguinary as in the days of the Conqueror, and to kill a stag was as great a crime as to murder a man. An odious distinction was still kept up betwixt the Normans and the English, greatly to the advantage of the former.

Henry on his accession granted a charter to London, which seems to have been the first step towards rendering that city a corporation. By this charter the city was empowered to keep the farm of Middlesex at three hundred pounds a-year, to elect its own sheriff and justiciary, was exempted from Scot, Danegelt, trials by combat, and lodging the King's retinue. These, with the confirmation of their court of hustings and ward-mote, and the privilege of hunting in Middlesex and Surrey, were the chief articles of this charter. Among the physical phenomena it may be mentioned that there was a plague in the year 1112; and the cockneys will marvel greatly when they are told, that, in October, 1114, the water was so low in the Thames that people could not only ride through betwixt the Bridge and the Tower, but great numbers of men and boys passed it there on foot, the water hardly reaching up to their knees.—*Rapin.*

IV.—STEPHEN.

And Stephen was a goodly man, and a man of great valour; howbeit, as he was not the rightful heir, he bethought himself how he might best obtain the affections of the people; and he sought by all manner of ways to please them.

To the nobles he gave leave to build them forts and castles on their own lands; he won favour with the priests by exempting them from temporal authority; the gentry he pleased with leave to hunt in his forests; and he pleased the people with freeing them from taxes and impositions.

And Stephen was a goodly man—howbeit as he was not the rightful heir.] He was an active and affable prince, possessing considerable abilities, though not endowed with a sound judgment; and, still more to his credit, his reign, notwithstanding the dangers with which he was continually surrounded, was not tarnished with any of those shocking acts of cruelty and revenge so frequent among princes of this age. *Howbeit, he was not the rightful heir.* Henry left his only legitimate daughter, Matilda, heiress of all his dominions, and her party was espoused by her brother the Duke of Gloucester, a brave, powerful, and honourable prince. Stephen was grandson to William the Conqueror. His father, Count of Blois, had married Adela, the daughter of that monarch, by whom he had Stephen and several other children. For some time Stephen had resided in England, where he exerted every artifice to ingratiate himself with the nobility, clergy, and people. No sooner had Henry breathed his last, than he began to adopt measures to obtain possession of the vacant throne. The citizens of Dover, and those of Canterbury, apprized of his purpose, shut their gates against him; but, hastening to London, the populace, stimulated by his emissaries, as well as moved by his general popularity, immediately saluted him King. His next object was to obtain the good-will of the clergy, and prevail upon them to perform the ceremony of coronation. His brother, the bishop of Winchester, was of great use to him in this capital point: in conjunction with the bishop of Salisbury, he applied to William, archbishop of Canterbury, and requested him to give the royal unction to Stephen. The primate, having sworn fealty to Matilda, at first refused; but his scruples were at length surmounted by a dishonourable expedient. Hugh Bigod, steward of the household, made oath before the archbishop, that the late King on his death-bed had shown a dissatisfaction with his daughter Matilda, and had expressed his intention of leaving the Count of Boulogne heir to all his dominions. The primate, either believing or feigning to believe Bigod's testimony, anointed Stephen, and put the crown upon his head. Thus, by the help of a little unction and a false oath, was the rightful heir set aside and an usurper put in possession of sovereign authority.

To the nobles he gave leave to build them forts.] It was in this reign those numerous castles were built, the ruins of which are still to be found in various parts of England. To secure his tottering throne, Stephen made many impolitic grants to the clergy and nobility, equally destructive to his own authority and the public peace. The clergy, who in those days could hardly be considered subjects of the crown, only bound themselves to observe their oaths of allegiance as long as they were protected in their ecclesiastical usurpations. The barons, in return for their submission, required the

Stephen.

Nevertheless his reign was full of trouble; the word was not sheathed, neither ceased he from war all the days of his life.

And now the sin of laziness began to prevail in the land, and the great men and the nobles made unto themselves coaches and chariots,

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right of fortifying their castles, and putting themselves in a posture of defence. All England was immediately filled with these fortresses, which the noblemen garrisoned either with their vassals, or with licentious soldiers who flocked to them from all quarters. Unbounded rapine was exercised upon the people for the maintenance of the troops; and private animosities, which had with difficulty been restrained by law, now breaking out without controul, rendered England a scene of uninterrupted violence and devastation. Wars between the nobles were carried on with the utmost fury in every quarter; the barons even assumed the right of coining money, and of exercising, without appeal, any act of jurisdiction; and the inferior gentry, as well as the people, finding no defence from the laws during this total dissolution of the sovereign authority, were obliged, for their immediate safety, to pay court to some neighbouring chieftain, and to purchase his protection, both by submitting to his exactions, and assisting him in his rapine upon others. Such was the precious government of priests and aristocrats. "The aristocratical power," says Hume, "which is usually so oppressive in the feudal governments, had now risen to its utmost height during the reign of a prince, who, though endowed with vigour and abilities, had usurped the throne without the pretence of a title, and who was necessitated to tolerate in others the same violence to which he himself had been beholden for his sovereignty."

Nevertheless his reign was full of trouble.] Indeed it was: it was the most turbulent period in English history. A re-action took place in favour of Matilda; Stephen was taken prisoner, and laid in irons at Bristol. Matilda was crowned, but her prosperity was of short duration. Not keeping on good terms with the clergy, her rival was soon reinstated in his authority; and she was obliged to take refuge in Oxford, where she hoped to remain till succours arrived from Normandy. Stephen laid close siege to the place, and the Queen afraid of falling into his hands, took advantage of a dark night and made her escape, accompanied with only four attendants, who, like herself, the better to elude the sentinels, the ground being covered with snow, clothed themselves in white. She passed the Thames on the ice, and walked above six miles on foot, with the snow beating in her face all the way: in spite of these difficulties she came to Abingdon, and rode the same night to Wallingford.—During these conflicts, the condition of the people was deplorable in the extreme: no security, either for their property or persons. The woods were filled with ferocious banditti; and such were the dangers to which the inhabitants were continually exposed, that every night, when they closed their doors and windows, it was customary to put up a short prayer against theives and robbers. "The castles of the nobility," (says the prince of historians) "were become receptacles of licensed robbers, who sallying forth day and night, committed spoil on the open country, on the villages, and even on the cities; put the captives to torture, in order to make them reveal their treasures; sold their persons to slavery; and set fire to their houses after they had pillaged them of every thing valuable. The fierceness of their disposition leading them to commit wanton destruction, frustrated their rapacity of its purpose; and the persons and property even of the ecclesiastics, generally so much revered, were, at last, from necessity, exposed to the same outrage which had laid waste the kingdom. The land was kept untilled; the instruments of husbandry were destroyed or abandoned; and a grievous famine, the natural result of these disorders, affected equally both parties, and reduced the spoilers, as well as the defenceless people, to the most extreme want and indigence."—Hist. vol. i. p. 360.

Now the sin of laziness began to prevail.] In consequence, we suppose, of the great exertion and excitement of the preceding bloody and turbulent period.

and were drawn through the streets of the city with horses; moreover, their pride increased daily, insomuch that in process of time they were carried on the shoulders of men, and blushed not.

And Stephen reigned over England eighteen years and nine months, and he died; and Henry Plantagenet reigned in his stead.

And Stephen reigned over England—and he died] Of the cholic and piles at Canterbury, where he had come to have an interview with the Earl of Flanders. He was buried by the side of his queen, and son Eustace, in the Abbey of Feversham, which he had founded. His body lay there till the suppression of the monasteries, when for the sake of the leaden coffin, wherein it was enclosed, it was taken up and thrown into the next water.

APPLICATION.

Rapin says, "If the King's character be considered in general only, he may be said to be worthy to live in better times, and his good qualities to outweigh his defects." The chief criminals of the age were the clergy and the barons. Having already given some account of these classes, it may not be amiss to give a short account of the general customs and manners of this barbarous age. Royalty, of course, commands the first attention. We have already spoken of the mode in which the revenue was collected. The court, in its perambulation through the country, exhibited the appearance of a modern puppet-show, and its attendants were of that description which is usually congregated at Bartholomew or Mile-end fairs. Peter of Blois, who lived in those days, gives a curious description of the manner in which the monarch was attended in his morning walk. "When," says he, "the King sets out in the morning, you see multitudes of people running up and down as if they were distracted; horses rushing against horses; carriages overturning carriages; players, whores, gamesters, confectioners, mimics, tailors, barbers, pimps, and parasites, making so much noise and, in a word, such an intolerable tumult of horse and foot, that you imagine the great abyss hath opened, and that hell hath poured out all her inhabitants."

Stews were established by law in London, and most probably in the chief towns of the kingdom. Ladies of pleasure followed the camp and court in immense numbers: they were formed into regular corporations, and put under the government of officers, who were termed *marshals of the whores.** Their office was hereditary; to which estates and considerable emoluments were attached. Long hair was very much worn, and was a great eye-sore to the clergy, who did not like the contrast of their shaven crowns, with the flowing ringlets of the knights and barons. It is related, that Bishop Serlo, in a sermon before Henry I. declaimed so powerfully against the uselessness of long hair, that he prevailed on the King to have his locks shortened; and the worthy prelate, fearing a relapse, drew out a pair of shears on the spot, and immediately began to operate on the monarch and his courtiers. Nevertheless, the curls were invincible for a long time; and were never finally subdued, till a knight dreamt he was strangled in his hair: this was considered a bad omen, and they were immediately discarded. Formerly the English wore the hair on the upper lip; but not being the fashion of the Normans, the Conqueror compelled them to shave that part as well as the chin.

The *dress* of the people was a cap or bonnet for the head; shirts, doublets, or mantles, for the trunk of the body; breeches, hose, and shoes, for the lower parts. The dress of the women was similar to the men; only they wore their under garments more loose and flowing; to their mantle they usually annexed a hood. The great *dandy* of those days was the famous Thomas à Becket. Fitz-Stephen, in his life, as a proof of his elegant way of living, gives the following curious account of the superb manner he

* Henry's History, vol. vi. p. 248.

entertained his guests. "He commanded," says he, "his servants to cover the floor of his dining-room with clean straw or hay, every morning in winter, and with fresh bulrushes, or green branches, for every day in summer, that such of the knights who came to dine with him as could not find room on the benches, might sit down and dine comfortably on the floor, without spoiling their fine clothes."

There were only two meals a day in those times, dinner and supper; the former at nine in the morning, and the latter at five in the afternoon. The following triplet used to be either sung or said:

To rise at five, to dine at nine;
To sup at five, to bed at nine;
Makes a man live to ninety and nine.

The monks, however, fared better, some of them, as those of St. Swithin, had thirteen meals a day. The composition of many ancient dishes has been entirely lost: for instance, *dellegrout*, *monypigranum*, *karampie*, and several others. Common people used bread made of rye, barley, or oats. His Majesty, however, and the monks, had their bread and wassal cakes made of the finest flour. Cyder, perry, ale, claret, and hypocras—wine mixed with honey, was the general drink of this period. The English, in *those days*, were greatly addicted to gormandizing and drinking. The Anglo-Normans were a more sober and abstemious people. They were more fond of ostentation and display, and expended their incomes in the magnificence of their tables, the splendour of their palaces, and the maintenance of a numerous retinue of domestics. Their passion for the fair sex, however, could hardly be restrained; and there are many instances of ladies of the first rank, distinguished for their beauty, being under the necessity of retiring to a nunnery to avoid their lawless attacks. In the dissolute reign of *William Rufus*, William of Malmsbury says, that they showed themselves men in nothing so much as in their daily attacks upon the chastity of women.

V.—HENRY II.

AND Henry was twenty and two years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England four and thirty years and eight months; and his mother's name was Maud.

And he chose unto himself wise and discreet counsellors of state, he appointed learned and able men to reform abuses in the laws,

And Henry was twenty and two years old—his mother's name was Maud.] And his wife's name was Eleanor. He was the greatest prince of his time for wisdom, virtue, and abilities, and the most powerful in extent of dominion of all those that had ever filled the throne of England. His wife Eleanor, the daughter and heiress of William, Duke of Guienne, had been married sixteen years to Louis VII. King of France, and had attended him in a crusade which that monarch conducted against the infidels; but having there lost the affections of her husband, from some suspicion of gallantry with a handsome Saracen, Louis, more delicate than polite, procured a divorce from her, and returned to her the provinces which by her marriage she had annexed to the crown of France. Henry, neither discouraged by the inequality of years, nor by the reports of Eleanor's gallantries, offered her his hand, and espousing her six weeks after her divorce, got possession of all her dominions as her dowry. The great power and fame Henry acquired by this bold step, first paved the way for his advancement to the throne.

he disbanded also the foreign army which his father had kept, and utterly destoyed the castles and forts which the nobles and prelates had built in his reign.

And it came to pass, that grievous complaints were made unto the king of divers cruel offences and enormous crimes committed by the clergy, occasioned by their being exempted in the former reign from the civil power, and encouraged, as was said, by the connivance of Becket the high priest.

And the king assembled the priests and the elders together, and he

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And it came to pass, that grievous complaints—of divers cruel offences and crimes committed by the clergy.] The ecclesiastics had renounced all subordination to the magistrate: they openly pretended an exemption in criminal accusations from a trial before courts of justice; and were gradually introducing a like exemption in civil causes: spiritual punishments could alone be inflicted on their offences; and as the clergy had greatly multiplied, and many of them of the most abandoned character, crimes of the deepest dye, murders, rapes, robberies, adulteries, were daily committed with impunity by the ecclesiastics. No fewer than 100 murders had been perpetrated in the short period since Henry's accession, by men of that profession, who had never been called to account for these crimes; and holy orders were become a full protection for all enormities.* A clerk in Worcestershire, having debauched a farmer's daughter, and murdered the father, the King insisted he should be given up to the civil power, and receive the punishment due to the enormity of his crime. Becket insisted on the privileges of the church; confined the murderer in the bishop's prison, lest he should be seized by the King's officers; and maintained that no greater punishment should be inflicted on him than degradation. When the King demanded that after he was degraded he should be tried by the civil authority, the primate asserted that it was iniquitous to try a man twice for the same offence. Among other inventions resorted to by the clergy to obtain money, they inculcated the necessity of penance as an atonement for sin; and having introduced the practice of receiving money for the granting of those penances, the sins of the people yielded them an enormous revenue; and the King computed that by this invention alone, they levied more money upon his subjects than flowed by all the taxes into the exchequer. That some limit might be put to their exactions, Henry appointed an officer to preside in the ecclesiastical courts, whose business it was to tax the charges they imposed on their deluded votaries for the remission of their sins.

And the King assembled the priests and elders together.] Henry was determined to put some bounds to the licentiousness, abominable crimes, and usurpation of the ecclesiastical power. When he had assembled the prelates together, he put to them this decisive question—Whether or not they were willing to submit to the ancient laws and customs of the kingdom? The bishops unanimously replied, they were willing, *saving their own order.*† Enraged at this base subterfuge, the King instantly left the assembly; but by no means abandoned his project of humbling the church. Having first gained over the barons to his design, he summoned a general council of the nobility and clergy at Clarendon. The bishops, finding there was a general combination against them, thought it prudent to submit; and the laws, known by the name of the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, were voted without opposition.

* Hume, p. 391.

† *Salvo in omnibus ordine suo, et honore Dei, et sanctæ ecclesiæ*, as the knaves said.

said unto them, Is not it meet that this law should be abolished? and they answered him and said, It is meet.

Then Becket the high priest stood up, and opposed the king with great haughtiness, and refused his assent.

Then Becket, the high priest, stood up—and refused his assent.] He assented afterwards; though, it seems, from the best authority, he never subscribed to the *Constitutions of Clarendon*. These laws, sixteen in number, were intended to put an end to the chief abuses in ecclesiastical affairs, and set bounds to the encroachments of the church on the civil power. Of this haughty prelate, archbishop Becket, it will be proper to give some account.—*Thomas-à-Becket* was the son of a citizen in London, by a Syrian woman, whose father had taken the elder Becket prisoner, while on a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. He was brought up to the bar, where he acquired great fame for his learning and abilities; and having acquired the friendship of the primate, Theobald, he was promoted to the rich archdeaconry of Canterbury. The primate afterwards recommended him to the King, who, admiring his spirit and abilities, promoted him to the dignity of Chancellor, one of the first offices in the kingdom. He was now not only the most learned and powerful man of his day, but the most gay and accomplished. We have already noticed, on the authority of his secretary and historian, Fitz-Stephen, how careful and tasty he was in the furniture of his rooms. A great number of knights were retained in his service; the greatest barons were proud of being received at his table; and the King himself frequently vouchsafed to partake of his entertainments. As his way of life was splendid and opulent, his amusements and occupations were also of that gay and chivalrous description, common to the age in which he lived. His leisure hours he employed in hunting, hawking, gaming, and horsemanship; he exposed his person in several military encounters; and engaged, in single combat, Engelvorda, a famous French knight; dismounted him with his lance, gained his horse, which he led off in great triumph. He carried over, at his own charge, 700 knights to attend the king in his wars at Toulouse; in the subsequent wars, on the frontiers of Normandy, he maintained, during forty days, 1200 knights, and 4000 of their train; and in an embassy to France, with which he was entrusted, he astonished the court by the number and magnificence of his retinue.

Besides putting the most important affairs to the management of Becket, the King honoured him with his friendship and intimacy; and whenever he was disposed to relax himself by sports of any kind, he always admitted the Chancellor to the party. One day, as Henry and Becket were riding together in the streets of London, they observed a beggar who was shivering with cold. "Would it not be praiseworthy," said the King, "to give that poor man a warm coat in this severe season?" 'It would surely,' replied the Chancellor; 'and you do well, sir, in thinking of such good actions.' "Then he shall have one presently," cried the King; and seizing the skirt of the Chancellor's coat, which was scarlet, lined with ermine, began to pull it violently. The Chancellor defended himself for some time; and they had both like to have tumbled off their horses into the street, when Becket, after a vehement struggle, let go his coat, which the King bestowed on the beggar, who, being ignorant of the quality of the donor, was not a little surprised at the present.—*Fitz-Steph.* p. 10.

This good fellowship betwixt the King and Chancellor was doomed soon to terminate. Theobald, archbishop of Canterbury, dying, and Henry having long entertained the design of humbling the clergy, he thought Becket would favour his views, by appointing him his successor. In this he was most completely disappointed. No sooner was Becket installed in his new dignity, which rendered him for life the second person in the kingdom, than he entirely altered his demeanour and conduct, and endeavoured to acquire the reputation for sanctity, which his former gay and ostentatious life might

And the wrath of the king was kindled against him, and he caused him to be accused of divers crimes and misdemeanors, and he was condemned by the priests and the elders, as a perjured man and a traitor.

Then Becket fled from the presence of the king, and became a fugitive in the land of Gaul.

And it came to pass after some time, that the king was reconciled to Becket, and he sent for him, and took him again into favour, and restored unto him all the honours that he before enjoyed.

Howbeit the pride of his heart was not a jot abated, he burned with choler, and cast about how he might revenge himself on his enemies.

And he suspended some, and some he excommunicated, and became in all respects more insolent than before.

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have bereaved him. Without consulting the King, he immediately returned into his hands the commission of chancellor; pretending that he must henceforth detach himself from all secular affairs, and be solely employed in the exercise of his holy function. He maintained, in his retinue and attendants alone, his ancient pomp and lustre, which was useful to strike the vulgar. In his own person he affected the greatest austerity and most rigid mortification. He wore sack-cloth next his skin, which, by his affected care to conceal it, was necessarily more remarked by all the world: he changed it so seldom, that it was filled with dirt and vermin. His usual diet was bread, his drink, water, which he rendered farther unpalatable by the mixture of unsavoury herbs. He tore his back with the frequent stripes inflicted upon it; and daily, on his knees, in imitation of Christ, washed the feet of thirteen beggars, whom he afterwards dismissed with presents. He gained the affections of the monks by his frequent largesses to the convents and hospitals. Every one who made profession of sanctity, was admitted to his conversation; and returned full of wonder at the humility, piety, and mortification, of the late chancellor, now the holy primate: he appeared perpetually employed in reciting prayers and pious lectures, or in perusing religious discourses: his aspect was the very pink of seriousness, mental recollection, and secret devotion:—and Hume says, all men of penetration saw that he was meditating some grand *chef d'œuvre*, and the ambition and ostentation of his character had turned towards a new and more dangerous object.

The first commencement of hostilities between the King and Becket, arose from the latter refusing to give up the clergyman to the civil power, who had debauched the the farmer's daughter, already mentioned. They were next at issue on the *Constitutions of Clarendon*, which brings us to our text, where "*Becket the high priest stood up.*"

Then Becket fled from the presence of the King.] He did not wait the issue of his trial, but took his horse and rode away; the people crying out after him, "*Stay, traitor, and hear thy sentence.*" He went first to Lincoln, attended only by three servants; from whence he travelled through bye-ways, disguised under the name of Dereham, till he came to Sandwich, where he embarked and went over to Flanders.—*Rapin*, p. 298.

And it came to pass—the king was reconciled to Becket.] As a proof of this reconciliation, Henry condescended to hold the Archbishop's silver bridle, while he mounted and dismounted twice.—*Encyclopædia Britannica.*

Then certain of the priests and the nobles came unto the king, and complained of Becket, saying, O king! the man whom thou forgavest is now more wicked than he was before, his crimes are increased seven-fold.

Then the king waxed exceeding wrath, and his countenance changed, and he cried out, O wretched man that I am, who shall deliver me from this turbulent priest?

Now this saying was heard by certain of the king's servants, and they went forth privily, and finding the high priest at the altar, they fell on him and slew him, and dashed out his brains at the foot of the altar, and his blood stained the holy place.

And the priests were inflamed with fury, and they sent unto the pope, accusing the king for the murder of Becket.

And when the messengers came unto the presence of the pope, they bowed down with great reverence before him, saying,

'O most holy father! to whom all power in heaven and earth is 'given, who art appointed over empires and nations to bind their 'kings in chains and their nobles, in fetters of iron; behold and see 'how the boar of the wood hath rooted up the vineyard of the Lord 'of sabaoth! If the rage of tyranny shall embrue with blood the '*Sanctum Sanctorum*, what place shall be safe? Wherefore, O most

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Then the King waxed exceeding wrath—who shall deliver me from this turbulent priest?] Henry said, "Shall this fellow, who came to court on a lame horse, with all his estate on a wallet behind him, trample on the King, the royal family, and the whole kingdom. Will none of all these lazy insignificant persons, whom I maintain, deliver me from this turbulent priest?"

Now this saying was heard by certain of the King's servants—and his blood stained the holy place.] Historians differ as to the rank of the persons who undertook to despatch Becket; some say they were barons, others knights, belonging to the King's household. Their names were Reginald Fitzurse, William Tracy, Richard Britton, and Hugh Morvill. They went first to his house, expostulated with him about the excommunicated bishops, his pride, and ingratitude: to which Becket returned a firm and resolute answer. They then left him; but in the evening, the archbishop going into the cathedral to vespers, they followed him, and clave his skull with their clubs at the foot of the altar. The murderers, not daring to return to the King, staid a year at Knaresborough castle, in Yorkshire, belonging to Morvill; after which they went to Rome for absolution, and were enjoined to do penance on the Black Mountain for life. Some chroniclers say, they all died miserably three or four years after. But this must be false; for we are told by the annotator on Camden, that one of the assassins, William Tracy, retired twenty-three years after, to Mort, in Devonshire.

'mild keeper of the walls of Jerusalem, arm all the ecclesiastical 'power you may, unsheath the sword of Peter, and revenge the 'death of this holy martyr, whose blood crieth out for all the 'church, and whose divine glory is already revealed by miracles.'

And the pope was moved exceedingly, and he sent unto the king, commanding him to purge himself of the crime laid to his charge.

And Henry protested his innocence, but it availed not: the words he had spoken testified against him, and he was compelled to expiate his fault by a penance at the tomb of Becket.

Now the penance enjoined was this: he clothed himself in woollen, and journeyed till he came within sight of the church wherein Becket was slain.

Then he alighted from his horse; and pulling his shoes from his feet, he walked barefoot till he came to the tomb where the holy man was laid, and he prostrated himself before the shrine, and prayed, and offered rich gifts.

Moreover he unclothed himself and received discipline from the hands of the monks; and they strake him with rods, that the blood ran from his shoulders.

And the fame of Becket waxed great, and he was canonized, and miracles were wrought at his tomb.

And Henry protested his innocence.] The archbishop gave Henry more trouble after his death than while alive. It was with the greatest difficulty he obtained absolution, after solemnly swearing he neither commanded nor consented to the assassination of the prelate. Among other hard conditions to which he was subjected before absolution were—first, never to oppose the pope's will; and, secondly, to lead an army into the Holy Land against the infidels, and remain at least three years successively. To these were added a secret article, whereby he engaged to go barefoot to Becket's tomb, and receive castigation from the hands of the monks of St. Augustine. The last of these conditions were rigorously observed, the former vanished in thin air.

And the fame of Becket waxed great—miracles were wrought at his tomb.] The miracles wrought by this popish prelate were quite as extraordinary as any recorded of the twelve apostles, Johanna Southcott, Jesus Christ, or even Mahomet, who it is said clave the moon in twain, and elicited speech from a leg of mutton. It is affirmed, that Becket not only restored dead men to life, but raised even the beasts of the field. On being exposed to view in the church before he was buried, he suddenly rose out of his coffin, and lighted the wax candles, which had been put out. When the funeral ceremony was over, he held up his hand to bless the people.* The pope hearing of these wonderful things, thought there was no harm in canonizing the archbishop, which he did by the name of

And of the miracles that he wrought, is it not recorded, how he rose from the coffin and lighted the candles at his own burial? and when the funeral ceremony was ended, how he lifted up his head and blessed the people?

He that believeth, let him believe still; and he that doubteth, let him doubt and be damned.

St. Thomas of Canterbury. His holiness further ordered a jubilee to be celebrated every fiftieth year, in the church where he lay. At first his tomb was adorned with few ornaments, but fifty years after his death his body was laid in a shrine enriched with a prodigious quantity of precious stones. The fame of the miracles wrought at his tomb spread throughout Europe, and devotees from all parts of Christendom repaired to Canterbury to obtain the intercession of this new saint. In 1420, an account was kept of above 50,000 foreign pilgrims, of every age and sex, that came to this renowned sepulchre. Lewis, king of France, also made a pilgrimage, to obtain Becket's intercession for the recovery of his son, who was dangerously ill. Henry met him at Dover, and conducted him to Canterbury, where both the monarchs offered up fervent prayers for the recovery of the young prince. Lewis offered at the tomb a massy cup of pure gold; and agreed to give to the monks seven thousand two hundred gallons of wine yearly, and freed them from all toll for whatever they should buy in his dominions.†

He that believeth—let him doubt and be damned.] Miracles will never cease, while the knavery of one class can live on the credulity of another. Every sect, whether Jew, Gentile, or Christian, can adduce a list of miracles in support of the veracity of its dogmas; and they all apparently rest on unexceptionable authority. We are told that Moses, Jesus, and Mahomet, performed their miracles in the presence of thousands. It is related by Tacitus, the Roman historian, as a well-known fact, that the pagan Emperor Vespasian, in obedience to a vision of the god Serapis, cured a blind man by the means of his spittle, and a lame man by the mere touch of his foot. Not many years ago great miracles were wrought at the tomb of the Abbe Paris, the famous Jansenist: the curing of the sick, giving hearing to the deaf, and sight to the blind, were talked of as the usual effect of that holy sepulchre. Cardinal De Retz, in his Memoirs, relates, that while in Spain, he was shown a man who had served seven years as door-keeper in a cathedral without a leg, but recovered that limb merely by the rubbing of some *holy oil* on the stump. The Cardinal is positive he saw him with two legs. This miracle was vouched by all the canons of the church, and all the inhabitants of Saragossa were appealed to for a confirmation of the fact. What ought wise men to do in such cases? Ought they to adopt all these different narratives as true, or reject them all as false? Are we to believe that the god of the Jews, the god of the Pagans, the god of the Christians, and the god of the Mahometans, could, in like manner, endow their votaries with the power of working miracles? This may be doubted; but it is certain that Jew, Christian, and Turk, ought to cultivate a charitable feeling; abstain from bigotry and intolerance, and, above all things, from cutting each others throats on account of their religious differences.

The writers in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* term Becket the great Goliah-saint of his time. He was certainly a most extraordinary being living and dead. Speaking of his character, Hume says, he was a prelate of the most lofty, intrepid, and inflexible spirit, who was able to cover to the world, and perhaps to himself, enter-

* Rapin's History, p. 313. † Ibid, p. 336.

And Henry was a great prince, and he conquered the kingdom of Ireland, and added it to his dominions.

Now the rest of the acts of king Henry, the concubine that he kept in the bower of Woodstock, and how she was poisoned by Eleanor the queen, are they not written in the book of the Chronicles of the kings of England?

And Henry slept with his fathers, and Richard his son reigned in his stead.

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prises of the greatest pride and ambition. Forty-eight years after his death the University of Paris had a dispute whether he was saved or damned. It was certainly a knotty point; but from the restless state he appeared to be in after his interment, we may suppose he was damned, at least for a time. According to Gervas, of Canterbury, the miracles he wrought would occupy a book twice as large as the Bible.

Now the rest of the acts of King Henry, the concubine that he kept in the bower of Woodstock.] This was the far-famed Fair Rosamond, *the rose of the world.* She was the daughter of Lord Clifford; and the most lovely and beautiful, and had the greatest ascendant over the King of all his mistresses. Queen Eleanor became jealous of her charms and threatened her destruction. Henry thought he had secured her from all attempts, by keeping her in an intricate labyrinth built on purpose, at Woodstock. But jealousy, as well as love, laughs at locksmiths. While he was in Normandy, the Queen, taking advantage of his absence, found means to obtain admission, and to despatch a rival who had long created her much uneasiness. She was buried at a church belonging to Godstow nunnery, near Oxford; where her epitaph was to be seen in Brompton's days. There are no remains of the labyrinth; but her monument is still preserved. On account of her connexion with Henry, an ill-natured sanctified bishop of Lincoln, ordered her fair body to be removed out of the choir into a less reputable place.

And Henry slept with his fathers.] That is, he died in the 57th year of his age, after a reign of thirty-four years and eight months. His death was hastened by the rebellious proceeding of his sons Henry, Richard, and John. His grief on this account, threw him into such a violent passion, that he cursed the day of his birth, and uttered the most dreadful imprecations against his disobedient children, which he could never be prevailed upon to revoke. Perceiving his end approaching, he caused himself to be carried into the church before the altar, where, after confessing himself, and expressing some signs of repentance, he expired. His eyes were no soo ner closed than his brutal domestics left him, after stripping him, quite naked in the church. He was buried at the nunnery of Fontevrand, which he had founded for that purpose.

Application.

Such was the end of Henry II. the most illustrious prince of his time, both for greatness of genius and extent of dominions. In his general character he greatly resembled his maternal grandfather Henry I. He was valiant, prudent, generous, learned, and accomplished. On the other hand, Rapin says he was excessive haughty, of an immeasurable ambition, and boundless lust. Never satiated with either love or empire, he spent his whole life in pursuit of conquests in both. He attempted the chastity of all that came in his way, not excepting the princess intended for his daughter-in-law.* Before his ruptnre with Becket he was the happiest

* Rapin, p. 349.

prince in Christendom. His fatal quarrel with that haughty prelate being followed by dissensions in his own family, all his happiness was turned into misfortunes. His calamities, however fell more upon his own head than his kingdom; for in no preceding reign had England been in such a flourishing condition. Like his predecessors, Henry left a numerous lawful and unlawful issue. He had five sons by his wife Eleanor, besides a considerable number by Fair Rosamond and other mistresses.

Justice was administered with great vigour during this reign; but still the laws were very inadequate to the protection of either the property or persons of the people. No very refined notions were yet entertained of right and wrong; and a spirit of violence and outrage pervaded all classes of the community. The police was so defective, that it was unsafe any one venturing abroad after sun-set, even in London and the most populous towns. Persons of great wealth and respectability used frequently to form themselves into parties of perhaps 100 each, and commit all sorts of excesses. A band of this description attacked the house of a rich broker, and attempted to force their way through the wall with hammers and wedges. The owner made a vigorous resistance, and cut off the right hand of the first robber who entered, which led to his apprehension; when it was discovered that he was one of the best born and richest citizens in London.

The history of the licentiousness and usurpations of the Clergy forms the most interesting subject during this period. This class was peculiarly circumstanced in respect of the laws: a clergyman guilty of murder could only be punished by degradation, and if murdered the offender could only suffer excommunication. This arose from the clergy having entirely withdrawn from the secular authority, and consequently were neither punished nor protected by the civil law. As a proof of their luxurious way of living, it is related, that the monks and prior of St. Swithin's threw themselves one day prostrate in the mire before the King, and with doleful lamentations complained that the Bishop of Winchester had cut off three meals a day. "How many has he left?" said the King? "Ten," replied the disconsolate monks. "I myself," said Henry, "have only three, and I enjoin the bishop to reduce you to the same number."

London-bridge began to be built in this reign with stone, by Peter Coleman, a priest. The course of the river was, for the time, turned another way, by a trench cast for the purpose, beginning at Battersea and ending at Rotherhithe. It is also related, that in this reign there was found in the church-yard of Glastonbury Abbey, a grave, containing three bodies, one upon another. The first was supposed to be the second wife of the great Arthur; the second his nephew; and the third great Arthur himself, distinguished by a leaden cross, with this inscription, *Here lies the illustrious King Arthur in the Isle of Avalon.* The circumstance served to undeceive the Welsh, who obstinately believed that Arthur was still alive; and that, like Messiah or Johanna Southcott, would return in due season, and make them a great and independent nation.

VI.—RICHARD I.

AND it came to pass at the coronation of Richard, that certain of the Jews pressing in to see the ceremony, were set upon by the people with great rage and fury, and many of them were murdered.

And it came to pass at the coronation of Richard.] The following is the account of *Diceto*, an eye-witness of the mode of making kings in those days. When the King had taken the coronation oath, his attendants put off all his garments from his middle up-

And it was rumoured abroad, that the king had commanded that all the Jews should be destroyed; and the tumult increased exceedingly, and the Jews were destroyed in several cities of England with a terrible slaughter.

And Richard the king prepared a great army for the Holy Land;

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wards, except his shirt which was open at the shoulders, and put on his shoes, which were of gold tissue, and the archbishop anointed him on the head, the breast, and the arms: then covering his head with a linen cloth, he set the cap thereon, which Geoffrey de Lucy carried, and when he had put on his waistcoat, and on that his *dalmatica*, or upper garment, the archbishop delivered to him the sword of the kingdom; which done, two earls put on his spurs, and he was led with the royal mantle hung upon him to the altar, where the archbishop charged him on God's behalf not to presume to take upon him this dignity, except he resolved inviolably to keep the vows and oaths he had just made; to which the King answered, by God's grace he would faithfully perform them all. Then the crown was taken from beside the altar, and given to the archbishop, who set it upon the King's head, delivering the sceptre into his right hand, and the rod royal into his left. Thus crowned, he was brought back to his throne with the same solemnity as before. Then mass began, and when they came to the offertory, the King was led by the bishops of Durham and Bath to the altar, where he offered a mark of pure gold as his predecessors were wont to do, and afterwards was brought back to his throne by the same bishops. After mass, having put off his heavy crown and robes, he went to dinner. At the coronation feast, which was kept in Westminster-hall, the citizens of London were his butlers, and those of Winchester served up the meat.

And it was rumoured abroad that the King had commanded that all the Jews should be destroyed.] The children of Israel were very unpopular then, as well as now, and nearly on the same account—their supposed avarice and rapacity. The King had issued an edict forbidding their appearance at his coronation; but some of them bringing him large presents, presumed in confidence of that merit, to approach the hall where he dined: being discovered they were exposed to the insults of the by-standers; they took to flight; the people pursued them; the rumour was spread that the King had issued orders to massacre all the Jews: a command so agreeable was executed on the instant on such as fell into the hands of the populace; those who had kept at home were exposed to equal danger; the people, moved by rapacity and zeal, broke into their houses, which they plundered, after having murdered the owners; when the Jews barricaded the doors and defended themselves with vigour, the rabble set fire to the houses, and made way through the flames to exercise their pillage and violence. The inhabitants of the other cities of England hearing of the slaughter of the Jews, imitated the example. In York five hundred of that nation having retired into the castle for safety, and finding themselves unable to defend the place, murdered their own wives and children, threw the dead bodies over the walls upon the populace, and then setting fire to the place perished in the flames. The gentry of the neighbourhood, who were all indebted to the Jews, ran to the cathedral where their bonds were kept, and to destroy all record of their debts, made a solemn bonfire of the papers before the altar.—*Hume, 2nd vol. p. 4.*

And Richard the king prepared a great army for the holy land.] Notwithstanding Richard's zeal in this godly enterprize, he appears not to have led a very sanctified life, and occasionally treated the clergy very cavilierly. Fulk, a curate, who, from his zeal in the Crusade, had acquired the privilege of speaking bold truths, advised him to rid himself of his notorious vices, particularly his pride, avarice, and voluptuousness, which he called the king's three favourite daughters. *You counsel well,* replied Richard, *and I hereby dispose of the first to the Templars, of the second to the Benedictines, and of the third to my prelates.*

and to support this expedition, he extorted money from his subjects by all manner of ways, and the priests were instructed to preach up the great merit of this pious undertaking, and the duty of supporting it.

And he set sail for the Holy Land, with the richest and most powerful fleet that the English had ever seen; and he came to an anchor at Messina, in Sicily, on the three and twentieth day of the month September.

And Tancred the bastard, then king of Sicily, had imprisoned Joanna, the sister of Richard, whom he had taken to wife: king Richard therefore assembled his forces together, assaulted the city, and took it.

And in his way to Jerusalem he conquered also the island of Cyprus.

And he overcame Saladin the Turk in many battles, and he took from him three thousand camels, and four thousand horses and mules: he took also the towns of Ascalon, Joppa, and Cæsarea, and behaved in all things with exceeding great courage, insomuch that the glory of the king of England eclipsed the glory of all the Christian princes.

And it came to pass after he returned from the Holy Land, as he sat at meat in his palace, word was brought unto him that Philip, king of France, had laid siege to one of his towns.

Then Richard the king was exceedingly enraged, and he sware in his wrath he would not turn his face till he came to the army of Philip.

And he caused the wall of the room where he was sitting to be broken down, and he assembled his army together, and came up with

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And he overcame Saladin the Turk.] This was the most memorable battle of the age. Saladin had 300,000 combatants, of whom 10,000 are said to have perished on the field. After this decisive victory, a truce was concluded with the Saracens; and Saladin died soon after at Damascus. Before he expired, he ordered his winding-sheet to be carried as a standard through every street of the city, while a crier went before and proclaimed with a loud voice, *This is all that remains to the mighty Saladin, the Conqueror of the East.* And, in his last will, with a liberality far exceeding that of Lord Chancellor Eldon in the nineteenth century, he ordered various charities to be distributed to the poor without distinction of *religion*, whether Jew, Christian, or Mahometan.

And he caused the wall of the room where he was sitting to be broken down.] The text here, after the manner of the *Jewish historians*, is a little obscure. Of the wall said to have been broken down we know nothing. The war with

the French; and the Lord fought for him, and he discomfited the army of Philip, and put them to flight, and he overthrew, with his own hand, three of the most hardy knights of France.

Wherefore he took for his motto these words, *Dieu et mon droit;* and this device is used by the kings of England unto this day.

And a certain outlaw, named Robin Hood, infested the forest of Sherwood in those days, insomuch that none might pass that way without his leave.

Howbeit he was a charitable thief, giving unto the poor what he took from the rich; and the blood of man he did not shed.

Philip arose from the king's captivity in Germany, a circumstance not mentioned by our author. Richard, in returning from Palestine, was shipwrecked near Aquileia; after which he attempted to pass secretly through Germany, disguised as a pilgrim. His expensive mode of living betrayed his rank; and he was seized by the Duke of Austria, who, to revenge a supposed affront he had received from the King while serving in the Holy Land, as well as to gratify his avarice by obtaining a ransom from his subjects, threw him into prison. Philip hearing of his captivity, thought it a favourable moment for commencing hostilities; having sent over John, Richard's brother, to excite disturbance in England. Richard, after being confined in a dungeon, loaded with irons, and sustaining every kind of indignity, was at length ransomed for 300,000*l.* As soon as Philip heard of the king's deliverance, he wrote to his base confederate John, in these terms: *Take care of yourself; the devil is broken loose.*

And a certain outlaw, named Robin Hood.] This is the most popular and respectable vagabond in history. The principal scene of his depredations was York-shire; where he and his companion Little John, and 100 more stout and merry fellows, levied contribution on every person they met on the highway. It is said that he was of noble blood, an earl at least, reduced to a lawless course of life by riotous living. Proclamation being issued for his apprehension, he fell sick at the nunnery of Berkeley, where desiring to be let blood, he was basely betrayed by a monk, and suffered to bleed to death.

Howbeit he was a charitable thief.] The great Sir Richard Baker, in his Chronicle of the Kings of England, says, *He was honestly dishonest, for he seldom hurt any man, never any woman, spared the poor, and only made prey of the rich.*

There was a less *honest thief* in those days, one Fitz-Osbert, commonly called *Longbeard*, a lawyer, who had obtained great influence by flattering the populace. This fellow carried on his depredations in the heart of London. Murders were daily committed in the streets; houses were broken open and pillaged in open day-light; and it is said that no less than fifty-two thousand persons had entered into an association by which they bound themselves to obey all the orders of this ruffian. Being summoned before Hubert, the justiciary, he came so numerously attended, that no one durst accuse him or give evidence against him, and the justiciary was obliged to content himself with exacting from some of his adherents hostages for their good behaviour. Meanwhile he kept a watchful eye on *Longbeard*, and seizing a favourable opportunity attempted to commit him to custody; but the criminal, after murdering one of the police officers, escaped with his concubine to the church of St. Mary-le-Bow, where he made an obstinate defence. He was at last forced from his retreat, condemned and executed amidst the regrets of the populace, who were so devoted to his memory, that they stole his gibbet, paid the same veneration to it as to the cross, and were equally zealous in propagating and attesting reports of miracles it wrought. The clergy, however, conceiving their property endangered by such practices, did

Richard the First.

And Richard reigned over England nine years and nine months; and he was wounded with an arrow at the siege of the castle of Chalons, and the wound mortified, and he died thereof; and John his brother reigned in his stead.

not think it their interest to patronize this new religion; consequently it soon disappeared.

And Richard reigned over England—was wounded with an arrow.] The wound was not in itself dangerous; but the unskilfulness of the surgeon made it mortal; he so rankled Richard's shoulder in pulling out the arrow, that a gangrene ensued; and that prince was now sensible his life was drawing towards a period. After the castle had surrendered, he ordered all the garrison to be hanged, except Bertrand, who shot the arrow. Having sent for him, Richard asked him, *Wretch, what have I ever done to you to oblige you to seek my life?—What have you done to me?* replied the prisoner coolly; *You killed, with your own hands, my father and two brothers; and you intended to have hanged myself: I am now in your power, and you may take revenge by inflicting on me the most severe torments: but I shall endure them all with pleasure, provided that I can think that I have been so happy as to rid the world of such a nuisance.** Richard, struck by the reasonableness of this reply, and humbled by the near approach of death, ordered Bertrand to be set at liberty, and a sum of money given him; but Marchad, general of the Flemings, unknown to the King, flayed him alive, and then hanged him. Richard died in the forty-second year of his age, and was buried in the abbey of Fontevraud, where an epitaph was inscribed, in gold letters, containing his most glorious achievements.

APPLICATION.

On account of his great courage, Richard was surnamed *Cœur-de-Lion*, or the lion-hearted. There is little to admire in the character of this prince, except his military talents and unconquerable valour. His splendour and magnificence were at the expense of the happiness of his people, from whom he extorted immense sums by the most unjustifiable means. His resentments were high; his pride unconquerable; and his subjects, as well as his neighbours, had reason to apprehend, from a longer continuance of his reign, a perpetual scene of blood and violence. His avarice was insatiable; and an unbridled lust hurried him not only to neglect the queen his wife, in order to abandon himself to an infamous debauchery, but even to sins against nature. A poor hermit upbraided him with his detestable crime before the whole court, and conjured him, in the name of God, to reflect on the destruction of Sodom.† In his person he was tall and well made, his eyes blue and sparkling, and his hair of a bright yellow, inclining to red. Like his predecessors, he resided very little in England; and his whole reign was spent either in war or preparations for war; and it is said he meditated another crusade against the infidels; a folly from which his subjects were happily relieved by his death.

Among the remarkable occurrences of this reign may be mentioned the restoration of the use of the cross-bow, from which Richard received his death. Coats of arms were first introduced into Europe about this time. The knights, cased up in armour, had no way of making themselves known and distinguished in battle, but by the devices on their shields; these were adopted by their posterity, who were proud of the virtues and military enterprises of their ancestors. Many of the mottoes were excellent, and are still borne by our ancient nobility; but are no more applicable to their degenerate character than to the Yahoos of Dean Swift.

The government of the city of London began to assume a regular form: it was divided into several corporations, societies, guilds, or companies, as they are called. The citizens also obtained the privilege to be governed by two bailiffs or sheriffs; and to have a mayor to be their principal governor, who was chosen for life.

* Hume vol. ii. p. 34. † Rapin, p. 400.

VII.—JOHN.

And John came not to the crown by hereditary right, he received it from the hands of Hubert the high priest, who, in his oration before the assembly of the people, declared, that, by all reason, divine and human, none ought to succeed in the kingdom, but who should be, for the worthiness of his virtues, universally chosen by the people, as was this man.

Nevertheless his virtues are not recorded, neither do we read of this his election; peradventure it was a lie.

And it came to pass that Hubert the high priest died, and Grey, bishop of Norwich, was elected by king John to succeed him.

But this election was opposed by the pope in favour of Stephen

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And John came not to the crown by hereditary right.] In the case of Harold, Henry I. as well as in the present instance it will be seen that the succession to the crown was regulated by no fixed principle. Richard, when he entered upon the Holy War, declared his nephew Arthur his successor, setting aside in his favour the title of his brother John, who was younger than Geoffrey, the father of that prince. According to the law of primogeniture, which formed such an important feature in the *Feudal System*, the superior right of Arthur was unquestionable. But John having obtained possession of the late king's treasure; and being ably assisted by Hubert, archbishop of Canterbury, had little difficulty in securing the vacant throne. The speech of Hubert to an assembly of the nobles and people, as preserved by Matthew Paris, as it avows the right of the people to elect their kings, as well as representatives, is worth preserving.

"*No person can have a right to the crown of this kingdom, unless after humbly invoking* "*God's holy spirit, he be first unanimously elected for his extraordinary virtues, and then* "*solemnly anointed king after the example of Saul and David, whom God was pleased* "*to set over his people, though neither was son of a king or royally descended. The for-* "*mer was chosen for his valour, the latter for his humility and piety; it pleased God* "*that such as were clothed with sway and power should be eminently distinguished by their* "*virtues. If, therefore, any of the late King's family excels the rest, we ought readily to* "*assent to his election. I speak this in favour of the noble duke John here present, brother* "*to our illustrious King Richard, who died without issue. This prince being endowed* "*with all sorts of virtues, and particularly with great valour and prudence, as well in* "*respect of his merits as birth, with the invocation of the holy spirit, we elect King.*"

After this short harangue, without further ceremony, the archbishop set the crown on John's head. His speech was evidently a tissue of falsehoods, both as to the legality of the proceeding, and the manifold virtues of that prince. The people of all England had already sworn fealty to John, and to talk about electing him afterwards was ridiculous. It does not appear the people voted, but expressed their satisfaction by acclamation: hence the whole was rather the nomination than the election of a king.

But this election was opposed by the Pope—insomuch that the whole nation was laid

Langton, a cardinal, whom when John refused to admit, a quarrel ensued betwixt the pope and the king; insomuch that the whole nation was laid under an interdict, the king was excommunicated, his subjects were absolved from their obedience, and all divine ordinances ceased; the burying-places were shut up, the dead were cast out as dogs, and remained unburied upon the face of the earth.

Howbeit this severity brake not the spirit of John, nor humbled him a jot.

And in his wrath he sware, by the teeth of God, he would be revenged on the pope, and on all that took part with him.

Accordingly he banished the bishops from the kingdom, and confiscated the lands and goods of all the priests that obeyed the interdict.

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under an interdict.] Innocent III. then filled the papal chair, an artful, ambitious, and enterprising pontiff. The appointment of Langton, an Englishman by birth, but educated in France, and connected by his interests and attachments to the see of Rome, was an unprecedented encroachment on the King's prerogative. Before the Pope proceeded to the violent measure of laying the kingdom under an interdict, on John's refusing to admit his usurpation, he sent him an artful letter, enclosing four golden rings set with precious stones, which he said contained many mysteries important to be known. He begged the king to consider seriously the *form* of the rings, their *number*, their *matter*, and their *colour*. Their *form*, he said, being round, shadowed out eternity, which had neither beginning nor end; and from thence he ought to learn to aspire from earthly to heavenly objects, from things temporal to things spiritual. The number, *four*, being a square, denoted steadiness of mind, not to be subdued either by adversity or prosperity. Gold, which is the *matter*, being the most precious of metals, signified Wisdom, the most valuable of all accomplishments, and justly preferred by Solomon to all power and external attainments. The blue colour of the sapphire represented Faith; the verdure of the emerald, Hope; the redness of the ruby, Charity; and the splendour of topaz, Good Works. Weak as John was, he did not consider these ingenious conceits a sufficient equivalent for the sacrifice of the most important prerogative of the Crown.

And in his wrath he sware, by the teeth of God, he would be revenged on the Pope.] His usual oath. He began his resistance to the Pope with great vigour, and even violence. He sent two knights, men of violent temper, with drawn swords, to expel the monks of Christ-church, who had shown a disposition to favour the pretensions of Rome. He threatened to send all the bishops and clergy to the Pope and confiscate their estates; and that if thenceforward he caught any of his emissaries in his dominions, he would cut off their noses, and put out their eyes, in order to set a mark upon them that might distinguish them from all other nations. His heaviest blow, however, was depriving the clergy of their concubines. The canons of the church prohibiting the marriage of the priests, concubinage became general among that order; and to prevent greater crimes, was connived at by the head of the church. John, to attack the clergy in their tenderest point, imprisoned the whole of their concubines, and required high fines as the price of their liberation.—*Rapin*, p. 443.—*Hume*, p. 64.

Now when the pope perceived the stubbornness of John, and that the roaring of his bulls availed not; he sent messengers unto Philip the king of France, and they came unto the king, and they addressed him, saying:

O Philip, thus saith the pope: As thou regardest the remission of thy sins, assemble now thy army together, and drive out king John from the throne of England, and thou and thy sons after thee shall possess it for ever.

And Philip raised an army, and prepared to invade England.

Then John was sore troubled, and his heart smote him, and he humbled himself before Pandolphus the legate of the pope, and he took the crown from off his head, and laid it at the feet of Pandolphus.

He resigned also his kingdom unto the pope, and he took an oath

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Now when the Pope perceived—the roaring of his bulls availed not.] The apostolical letters are of two sorts. Some are called briefs, because compendiously written, and sealed on wax only, with the impression of a signet ring, which good catholics believe to be the identical seal of St. Peter the fisherman. The other sort is called bulls, or bulla, from the pieces of lead appended thereto. The writing is described on parchment or vellum, and on the pieces of lead are impressed the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul from the papal seal. It was on these instruments the spiritual thunder of the Vatican was launched, to enforce the payment of dues. Formerly they were objects of great terror to the most powerful potentates in Europe; but their legality being called into question, they fell into contempt, and were termed *bull beggars*, with which children alone could be frightened. Acts of Parliament appear tending to a similar destiny, and from people questioning the legal authority, whence they originate, it is possible they may hereafter be considered little better than "*bull beggars.*"

Then John was sore troubled.] The artful measures of the Pope at length reduced the King to the greatest difficulties. The court of Rome had a gradation of punishments wherewith to humble the obdurate. The interdict, which forbad the people from shaving themselves, or even saluting each other, was only the forerunner of more dreadful denunciations. The King was excommunicated, and every one forbad to have any commerce with him, in public or private, at his table, or in his council, or even in private conversations. The next sentence was absolving his subjects from the oath of allegiance; and lastly, came the sentence of deposition, by which the King was deprived of the crown, and his kingdom bestowed on another. But the latter sentence requiring something more than parchment, the Pontiff cast his eyes on Philip, as a prince sufficiently powerful to carry into effect the sentence of deposition. And to encourage that monarch in the undertaking, besides the remission of all his sins, and endless spiritual benefits, he promised him the possession of the kingdom of England as the reward of his labour.

He resigned also his kingdom unto the Pope.] The triumph of his Holiness was complete. The ceremony of the resignation of the crown was performed at Dover, where the legate had invited the humbled monarch to a conference. John was so terribly

that he and his successors should hold it from the see of Rome, at the annual tribute of a thousand marks of silver.

Thus ended the contest betwixt the temporal and spiritual sword; and John returned to the bosom of the church, and continued a dutiful son all the days of his life.

Wherefore the holy father supported him against his subjects in all manner of wickedness and oppression.

And he vexed them daily with new taxes and impositions, insomuch that the barons and great men of the kingdom at length made war against him, in behalf of their rights and liberties.

Now these were called the barons' wars; and the sword of justice

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alarmed at the desperate situation of his affairs, that he readily submitted to all the conditions Pandolphus was pleased to impose upon him. He promised, among other articles, to submit himself entirely to the judgment of the Pope; that he would acknowledge Langton, about whom the quarrel first originated, for primate; that he would restore all the exiled clergy and laity who had been banished; and that every one outlawed or imprisoned on account of his adherence to the Pope, should immediately be received into grace and favour. But his ignominy did not stop here. Pandolphus required him, as the first trial of his obedience, to resign his kingdom into the hands of the church, as the only means to prevent falling into the hands of the French. He complied with this degrading condition, and passed a charter, in which he declared, that, not constrained by fear, but of his own free will, he had, for the remission of his own sins and those of his family, resigned England and Ireland to God, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and to Pope Innocent and his successors in the apostolic chair: and he agreed to hold his dominions as feudatory of the see of Rome, by the annual payment of 700 marks for England, and 300 for Ireland. John then did homage to the Pope's legate, according to the rites required by the feudal law, from vassals before their liege lord, and superior. He came unarmed into Pandolphus's presence, who was seated on a throne; he flung himself on his knees before him; he lifted up his joined hands, and put them within those of Pandolphus; he swore fealty to the Pope; and paid part of the tribute for his kingdom as the patrimony of St. Peter. The legate was so elated with this spiritual triumph, that he could not conceal his joy; he trampled on the money which was laid at his feet; and after retaining the crown and sceptre in his possession for five days, returned them to the King, with an intimation, that he was to consider it a singular favour from the holy see.

We have been thus particular in giving an account of this singular affair, to show that mankind may be as completely enslaved by opinion as physical force. The temporal power of the see of Rome was scarcely sufficient to reduce a single baron to submission; but we have seen that by a sort of invisible authority over men's minds, arising from their ignorance and prejudices, it was able to reduce the most powerful kingdom in Europe to the lowest pitch of degradation.

Now these were called the barons' wars.] John had no sooner made his peace with the Pontiff, than he was embroiled with the barons. His treachery, cowardice, and cruelty, had rendered him an object of contempt and abhorrence among all classes. The barons, whom he had affronted by his insolence, dishonoured their families by his debaucheries, and enraged them by his tyranny, thought it a favourable moment, after he had reconciled himself to the Pope by sacrificing the independence of the kingdom, to demand the restoration of their privileges. They were still further stimulated in their

prevailed, and they compelled the king to confirm their ancient privileges, and he signed a charter of rights, which is called Magna Charta unto this day.

Thus wicked princes are sometimes the instruments of good to a people whom the Lord loveth.

Now the rest of the acts of king John, the bridge that he built,

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demand, from having obtained a sight of the charter of Henry 1st, which Langton had found in a monastery. Having presented a petition to the King, they met on the approach of the Easter festival at Stamford, where they expected to receive his answer: their force consisted of 2000 knights, besides their retainers and inferior persons without number. Elated with their power, they advanced in a body to Brackley, within fifteen miles of Oxford, the place where the court then resided; and they then received a message from the King, desiring to know what those privileges were which they so boldly challenged from their sovereign. They delivered to the messengers a schedule, containing the chief articles of their demands; which was no sooner shown to the King, than he burst into a furious passion, and asked, why the barons did not also demand of him his kingdom; swearing, by God's teeth, he would never grant them such liberties, as must reduce himself to slavery.

No sooner were they informed of his reply, than they chose Robert Fitzwalter general, whom they called the *mareschal of the army of God and of holy church*; and proceeded without further ceremony to levy war against the King. They laid waste his parks and palaces, and issued a proclamation, threatening to lay waste the houses and estates of those barons who still in appearance remained attached to the royal party. The King was left at Odiham, in Hampshire, with a retinue of only seven knights, and after trying various expedients to elude the blow, offering to refer all differences to the Pope, or to eight barons, mutually chosen, was at length compelled to submit at discretion.

A conference was appointed at Runnemede, between Windsor and Staines; a place justly celebrated on account of this great event. The two parties encamped apart, like open enemies; and after a debate of a few days, the King signed and sealed the the charter which was required of him. This famous deed, known by the name of Magna Charta, or the Great Charter, is considered the foundation of English liberties. It was signed on the fifteenth of June 1215; and granted or secured important privileges to every order of men in the kingdom; to the clergy, the barons, and the people.

Besides the immunities to the barons and clergy, this celebrated charter ordained, that all freemen should be allowed to go out of the kingdom and return to it at pleasure; that one weight and one measure should be established throughout the kingdom; that the courts of justice were to be stationary, and no longer follow the King's person. Circuits were to be held regularly every year; and *justice was no longer to be sold, refused, or delayed.* Merchants shall be allowed to transact all business without being exposed to tolls and impositions. No freeman shall be taken or imprisoned, or dispossessed of his free tenement or liberties, or outlawed, or banished, or any wise hurt or injured, unless by the *legal judgment of his peers, or the law of the land.* Lastly, there was a stipulation in favour of the *villains*, or peasantry; the most numerous class probably in the kingdom, and which hitherto had been considered unworthy of notice. It was ordained, that they should not be deprived, by any fine, of their carts, ploughs, and implements of industry.—Such is a brief outline of the barons' wars and the GREAT CHARTER.

Now the rest of the acts of King John—his blasphemy on the buck.] Some describe John as an Atheist. It is related, that in his difficulties he sent an embassy to the emperor of Morocco, and offered to change his religion and turn Mahometan, on condition that

and his blasphemy on the buck, are they not recorded in the book of Baker the historian?

And John reigned over England eighteen years and five months, and he died; and Henry his son reigned in his stead.

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monarch would lend him his assistance. As another instance of his profaneness, it is related by the monks, that one day being hunting, at the opening of a very fat buck, *See*, said he, *how this deer has prospered, and how fat and plump he is! and yet I dare swear he never heard mass in his life.*

And John reigned over England—and he died.] The manner of his death was of a piece with his life. He very narrowly escaped being drowned, with the whole of his army, from an ignorance of the tide. He was passing the washes, which separate the two counties of Lincoln and Norfolk. Before he was quite over, the tide coming up, which overflows the marsh land at high water, put him in extreme danger. He escaped himself, but his baggage was entirely lost. He arrived that night at Swineshead Abbey, where he lodged. His vexation at his loss threw him into a fever, which was further heightened by his eating greedily of peaches. Next day, not being able to ride, he was conveyed in a litter to Sleford Castle, from whence he was removed to Newark, where he died. His body was carried to Worcester, according to his own order; where his tomb of grey marble, between the choir and altar, is still to be seen. It is related by some, that he was poisoned by the Abbot of Swineshead Abbey, whose sister he had threatened to debauch: but the story seems wholly without foundation.

Application.

John was in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the eighteenth of his reign, when he died. His character is represented as a complication of vices, equally mean and odious, ruinous to himself, and destructive to the people. Cowardice, sloth, folly, levity, licentiousness, ingratitude, tyranny, and cruelty, are all attributed to this monarch. A variety of anecdotes, tending to illustrate the character of this most weak and wicked of English kings, we have purposely reserved to the conclusion of his history.

Several instances are related of John's sanguinary disposition, of which the most remarkable is the murder of his nephew, Arthur, duke of Britanny. This young prince had long been an object of his jealousy, and he had made an abortive attempt to prevail upon two of his domestics to despatch him. He at length determined to perform the bloody deed himself. The transaction is differently related by historians, but the following seems the most correct account:—He ordered Arthur to be removed to the Castle of Rouen; and coming in a boat during the night, he ordered him to be brought before him. The young prince, suspecting his fate, threw himself on his knees before his uncle, and begged for mercy; but the barbarous tyrant, making no reply, stabbed him with his own hands; and fastening a stone to the dead body, threw it into the Seine. On another occasion, one Peter, of Pomfret, a hermit, foretold that in a year hence he would lose his crown; the prediction was apparently fulfilled by the resignation to the Pope. But this did not satisfy John, and he ordered the unfortunate soothsayer to be dragged at horses tails to the town of Warham, and there hanged on a gibbet with his son. The Jews were an unceasing object of persecution and cruelty about this period. John having imposed a fine of 10,000 marks upon one of them, which he refused to pay, he ordered that one of his teeth should be drawn every day till he consented. Accordingly, seven teeth were pulled out in as many days, but on the eighth the Israelite relented; so, with the loss of seven teeth, parted with 10,000 marks, in order to preserve the rest.

Many more anecdotes are related of his barbarity, but the above must suffice. He was not less licentious than cruel; and his dishonourable and violent amours in the la-

milies of the barons, were the chief causes of alienating their affections. In his marriage with Isabella, daughter of the Count of Angouleme, he set at defiance both the laws of God and man. His queen was still alive, and Isabella already married to the Earl of Marche; nevertheless, his passion was not to be subdued by these obstacles. He persuaded the Count of Angouleme to carry off his daughter from her husband; and having on some pretence or other procured a divorce from his own wife, he espoused Isabella; regardless both of the menaces of the Pope, who protested against these irregular proceedings, and of the resentment of the husband. Of this queen he appears to have been passionately enamoured. We are told by Rapin, that while the French were conquering his towns in Normandy, he remained at Rouen, feasting magnificently with his new queen, and lying in bed every day till noon. His insensibility to the progress of the enemy was so great, that the people said he was bewitched. When news was brought him of their progress, he assumed the most ridiculous airs: "*Let the French go on,*" said he, "*I will retake in a day what hos cost them years to acquire.*"

Among the curious incidents of this reign, may be mentioned the French champion, who came over to fight any one who should assert, that Philip King of France had done wrong to John. To put down this bully, an Irish lord, of gigantic stature, and known intrepidity, then confined in the Tower, was selected. While he was recovering his strength, impaired by imprisonment, the French Hector, hearing of his prodigious strength, withdrew privately into Spain, not daring to appear in France or England. The strength of this Irishman was so great, that he could cleave a helmet in two with a blow of his sword. As a principal part of jurisprudence in those times was administered by single combat, John used to keep a number of bravoes, whom he destined to fight with his barons, when any controversy arose between him and them.—The right of electing the lord mayor annually was given by charter to the city of London. It also had power to remove its sheriffs at pleasure, and its common-councilmen annually.

Liberty, and an impartial administration of justice, had yet made little progress. Spelman asserts, that during the reigns of the first Norman princes, every edict of the King, issued with the consent of his privy council, had the full force of law. According to feudal principles, all property was supposed to be held of the King, on consideration of certain services. When a baron died, the King immediately took possession of the estate; and the heir was obliged to make application to the crown, and desire that he might be admitted to do homage for his land, and pay a composition to the King. This composition was arbitrary, and frequently exorbitant: the King keeping possession of the estate till it was paid. If the heir were a female, the King was entitled to offer her any husband he thought proper of the same rank; and if she refused him she forfeited her land. Even a male heir could not marry without the royal consent; and it was usual for men to pay large sums for the liberty of choosing a wife.—*Hume*, vol ii. p. 139.

Justice was avowedly bought and sold. Even the King's court was open to none that brought not presents, or more correctly bribes; which were entered in the public registers of the royal revenue, where they still remain perpetual monuments of the iniquity and tyranny of the times. Hume, from Madox's History of the Exchequer, has cited some curious instances of the sums paid for the expediting, delaying, suspending, and doubtless perverting justice. The barons of the exchequer, for instance, insert as an article in their records, that the county of Norfolk paid a sum that they might be fairly dealt with; the borough of Yarmouth, that the king's charters, which they had for their liberties, might not be violated. Sometimes a party offered the King a certain portion, a half, a third, or a fourth, payable out of certain debts he might assist them to recover. Theophania de Westland agreed to pay the half of 212 marks, that she might recover that sum against James de Fughleston. Solomon the Jew agreed to pay one mark out of every seven, that he should recover against Hugh de la Hose.

Freedom of industry, commerce, husbands, and wives, were in like manner bought from the royal chapman. Hugh Oisel paid 400 marks for liberty to trade in England.

The men of Worcester paid 100 shillings that they might have the liberty of selling and buying dyed cloth as formerly. Geoffrey Fitz-Pierre, gave two good Norway hawks for leave to export a hundred weight of cheese out of the King's dominions. The archdeacon of Wells gave one tun of wine for leave to carry 600 seams of corn whither he would. Peter Parois gave twenty marks for leave to salt fishes, as Peter Chevalier used to do. The wife of Hugh de Neville, gave the King 200 hens, that she might lie with her husband one night; who most probably was a prisoner. Richard de Neville gave twenty palfreys to obtain the King's request to Isolda Bisset, that she should take him for a husband. Roger Fitz-Walter gave three good palfreys, to have the King's letter to Roger Bertram's mother, that she should marry him. The bishop of Winchester gave one tun of good wine for his not putting the King in mind to give a girdle to the Countess of Albermarle. Robert de Veaux gave five of the best palfreys that the King would hold his tongue about Henry Pinel's wife. Eling, the dean, paid 100 marks that his whore and his children might be let out upon bail. Several more instances might be mentioned, but these will be sufficient to illustrate the manners of the times, and show the sort of commerce carried on betwixt the King and his subjects, and among the subjects themselves.

This was the *age of chivalry*, of giants, enchanters, dragons, spells, and a thousand wonders. The virtuous knight fought not only in his own quarrel, but in that of the innocent, of the helpless, and, above all, of the fair, whom he supposed to be under the guardianship of his valiant arm. The great independence of men, made personal honour and fidelity the chief tie among them; and the solemnities of single combat, as established by law, banished the notion of every thing unfair or unequal in rencontres. It was on these lofty ideas of chivalry, that the modern gallantry and honour originated; which, notwithstanding the debasing nature of methodism and commerce, still form the chief grace and shield of social life.

We shall only make one more remark. Hume justly observes, that the GREAT CHARTER did not establish any new courts, magistrates, nor senate; it was more properly a declaration of the rights and immunities of all classes, previously existing. Although, therefore, *Magna Charta* forms an important epoch in the history of the English constitution, it cannot be considered as having introduced any new principle in the government, but only placing on a more secure and definite foundation, those already admitted.

VIII.—HENRY III.

AND Henry was nine years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England fifty and five years, and his mother's name was Isabel.

Now the acts of king Henry, and all the foolish things that he did, behold they are written in the book of Speed the historian.

Now the acts of King Henry—are written in the book of Speed the historian.] Speed was a tailor. Speaking of Speed, some writer, in Chalmers's Biographical Dictionary, asks, *What could be expected from a tailor?* He was, however, a man of some talent; he was a tolerable antiquarian, and wrote a tolerable history of the Norman and Saxon kings.

He that hath patience to read, let him read.

And Henry lived all the days of his life, and he died, and Edward his son reigned in his stead.

He that hath patience to read let him read.] All historians agree in the dreary and uninteresting character of this reign. Rapin begins his narrative in a very ominous manner: *We are going to enter on a very long reign*, &c. Hume begins: *What mortal could have patience to write or read a long detail of such frivolous events as those with which it is filled, or attend to a tedious narrative which would follow, through a series of fifty-six years, the caprices and weaknesses of so mean a prince as Henry?* These extracts, we imagine, will satisfy any curiosity the reader might feel to be better acquainted with the events of this period.

And Henry lived—and he died.] In the 64th year of his age, and 56th of his reign; the longest reign, with the exception of the present king, in the English annals. He expired at St. Edmondsbury, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Application.

There are more points of resemblance betwixt the history of this and another monarch, than the duration of their reigns. Henry was a very pious and devout prince; and extremely regular in his attendance on public worship. He was very chaste, and what was unusual in those times, had a numerous issue, lawfully begotten. He was excessively greedy of money; but the vast sums he levied from his subjects, apparently never made him the richer. His slender capacity rendered him frequently the prey to proud and self-interested counsellors; and the notions of arbitrary power instilled into him in his youth, were a principal cause of the troubles that distracted his reign. Of his courage, Rapin says, nothing can be said, since he never gave any sensible proof of it.

Among the remarkable events of this reign may be noticed, an obstinate dispute betwixt the civil and ecclesiastical courts, on the subject of bastardy. The common law had deemed all those to be bastards who were born before wedlock: by the canon law they were legitimate. In the parliament assembled at Merton, the prelates insisted that the municipal law should be made conformable to the canon: but the barons returned the celebrated reply, *Nolumus leges Angliæ mutare*, We will not change the laws of England.

The trial by fire and water ordeal was abolished by an order in council. A charter was granted to the town of Newcastle, which gave the inhabitants licence to dig for coal. This is the first mention of coal in England. Madox says, the King gave to master Henry, his poet, 100 shillings. Master Southey, the author of Wat Tyler, and *poet laureat*, receives £100, which we suppose is an allowance for the change in the value of money.

The most important event in this reign is the origin of the House of Commons. Hitherto the prelates and barons had alone formed the constituent parts of parliament. Returns were now ordered to be made, not only of two knights for each shire, but also of deputies from the boroughs, an order of men which had always been esteemed too mean to enjoy a place in the national councils. The value and efficacy of this new branch of the legislature, soon began to appear; and Hume remarks, that it gradually rescued the kingdom both from regal and aristocratical tyranny. This cannot be denied. But if the country be indebted for its liberties to the House of Commons, it seems likely to be indebted for slavery to the same source. This, however, can only result from the corruption in the representative system. A nation can never enslave itself; and it would be a paradox, a felo-de-se, to suppose that the *real* representatives of any country should ever be the destroyers of its liberties.

IX.—EDWARD I.

And the Lord pitched his tabernacle in the heart of king Edward, and he became a great prince, and was called Long-shanks.

And he conquered the kingdom of Wales, and overthrew Llewellen the king in battle, and slew him, and cut off his head and crowned it with ivy, and set it upon the tower of London as a terror to Wales.

And great fear came upon all Welchmen, and they submitted themselves unto Edward, and the two nations became as one people unto this day.

And it came to pass that Alexander king of Scotland died, and great contentions arose between the lords Baliol and Bruce who should be king.

And the matter was referred unto Edward, and he gave it favour of Baliol, and Baliol was made king, and did homage to Edward for his whole kingdom.

And the lord pitched his tabernacle.] An expression of Camden. Edward was engaged in the holy wars when his father died. On his way home he did homage to the King of France, as liege lord for Guienne. The form of the homage was, *My lord King, I do you homage for all the lands which I ought to hold of you.*

And he conquered the kingdom of Wales and overthrew Llewellyn.] An ill-starred ambition seems to have hurried Llewellyn to his fate. A prophecy of the famous Merlin, implied that a Welsh prince should one day wear the crown of Brutus, the first king, as is supposed, of the island of Britain. This, and some other grievance, rashly tempted Llewellyn to commence hostilities. At first he was successful, but Edward advancing with a powerful army, he was compelled to retire to the mountain of Snowdon, a post that could not be attacked. Here he might probably have worn out the patience of his adversary, but the vision of Merlin floating in his head, and emboldened by a trifling skirmish, he was induced to descend with his whole army into the plain, where he was entirely defeated and himself slain.

With the death of this prince, descended from Roderic the Great, and one of the most ancient families in Europe, expired the independence of Wales. Edward having summoned a parliament, it was resolved that it should be inseparably united to the crown; and that nothing might remain to keep alive the ancient glory of the country, Edward collected all the Welsh bards together, and, from a barbarous policy, ordered them to be put to death.

And it came to pass that Alexander King of Scotland died.] There was no fewer than three competitors for the crown, namely, Baliol, Bruce, and John Hastings.

And the matter was referred unto Edward—homage to Edward.] The right of Edward to a feudal superiority over Scotland, had not the slightest foundation; except in his own ambition and power. He caused all the monasteries to be ransacked for old chronicles and histories, in order to collect passages in favour of his pretensions. The

And Edward the king treated king Baliol with great haughtiness, and summoned him to appear before him on every little complaint.

Wherefore the anger of Baliol was kindled against him, and his heart swelled with indignation, and he sought how he might shake off the yoke which galled his neck.

And he sent messengers unto the pope, and got himself absolved from the oaths he had taken to king Edward, and renounced his sovereignty.

Then Edward the king raised an army, and marched against him, and the Lord gave up Baliol into the hands of his enemies, and he was taken prisoner, and carried to the tower of London.

And Edward conquered the kingdom of Scotland, and subjected it unto him; and he burnt the records of the kingdom, and he seized the crown, and the sceptre, and all the regalia, and brought them away:

And the stone also which was Jacob's pillow, and the chair of

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result of his inquiries was only some dubious passages, where indeed it was mentioned that the Scottish kings had done homage for certain fiefs south of the Tweed, but never for the kingdom of Scotland. To establish his point, Edward had recourse to shifts sometimes adopted by modern disputants. He quoted a passage from Hoveden, where it asserts, that a Scottish king had done homage to England; but he purposely omitted the latter part of the sentence, which expresses that the homage was for lands held in England.

And Edward the King treated King Baliol with great haughtiness.] In the course of a few months he summoned him on different frivolous pretences six times; and he publicly told Baliol, that he would make the King of Scotland appear in England whenever he thought convenient. On one occasion he summoned him to answer the complaint of a merchant of Gascoyne, who alleged that the late King of Scotland was indebted to him a certain sum, which Baliol refused to pay. Edward, eager to exercise his new authority, as sovereign of the King of Scotland, summoned Baliol to appear at Westminster. To answer this and other charges he actually appeared at the bar of parliament as a private person; but even this condescension did not save him from the necessity of having recourse to arms.

And Edward conquered the kingdom of Scotland.] His only object was the entire conquest of the kingdom; and his conduct to Baliol very much exemplified the fable of the Wolf and the Lamb: he was determined at all events to have some pretence for destroying the independence of Scotland. In carrying off the regalia and destroying the records, his plan was clearly to pursue the same steps towards Scotland, which had succeeded towards Wales, and annex it to England.

And the stone also which was Jacob's pillow.] The story of this famous stone is as follows: Kenneth II. king of the Scots, having made a great slaughter of the Picts, near the monastery of Scone, placed a stone there, which tradition reported to be the same that served Jacob for a pillow. This stone he enclosed in a wooden chair for the inaugeration of the kings of Scotland. It had been first brought out of Spain

wood which enclosed it, and it is the coronation-chair unto this day.

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into Ireland, by one Simon Breccus; afterwards out of Ireland into Argyle; and lastly conveyed by King Edward to Westminster. On it was engraven this distich:

Or fate's deceived, and heaven decrees in vain,
Or where they find this stone, the Scots shall reign.

Whether the Scots have *reigned* so triumphantly during the last half century in the English court, in consequence of the virtues of the Scone stone, or their own cunning and indefatigable industry, we leave them to decide. The story has some resemblance to that of the house of the Virgin Mary, which, it is said, flew out of Palestine into Italy.

In giving an account of the subjugation of Scotland, it would be unpardonable to pass over the exploits of Sir William Wallace, the Scottish hero. This brave man, of a small fortune, but ancient family, formed the arduous enterprise of delivering his native country from the English yoke. Having been provoked by the insolence of an English officer, he slew him; which, rendering him obnoxious to the administration, he fled into the woods, and became leader of those whose bad fortunes or avowed hatred of the English, had reduced to a like necessity. He was endowed with gigantic force of body, heroic courage, disinterested magnanimity, incredible patience, and ability to bear hunger, fatigue, and all the severities of the seasons. Beginning with small attempts, he gradually proceeded to more momentous enterprises; and his intimate knowledge of the country gave him great advantages in securing the retreat of his followers, and in making sudden excursions upon the enemy. The fame of his exploits daily increasing, all those who thirsted after military fame, were desirous to partake of his renown.

His force being now considerable, he determined to strike a decisive blow by attacking Ormesby at Scone, and take vengeance of him for all the violence and tyranny of which he had been guilty. The justiciary, apprised of his intentions, fled hastily into England, and all the other officers of that nation imitated his example. His next exploit was the attack of Warrenne, whom he defeated, not less by his valour than his great prudence and military skill. At the fatal battle of Falkirk, where the Scots were completely routed, Wallace, with great address and presence of mind, contrived to keep his troops together, with whom he leisurely retired along the banks of the Carron. It was here that his majestic port, and the intrepid activity of his behaviour, discovered him to Bruce, then serving in the English army; and who called out to him, desiring a conference. He represented to Wallace the hopeless enterprise in which he was engaged, and endeavoured to prevail upon him to submit to the superior power and fortune of Edward. He also reminded him of the mean jealousy of the Scotch nobles, which Wallace had already experienced; and told him that were he ever so successful, they would never submit to personal merit, whose superiority they were less inclined to regard as an object of admiration, than a reproach and injury to themselves. To these exhortations Wallace replied, that if he had hitherto acted alone as the champion of his country, it was solely because no second or competitor, or what he rather wished, no leader had yet appeared to place himself in that honourable station; that the blame lay entirely on the nobility, chiefly on Bruce himself, who uniting personal merit to dignity of family, had deserted the post which both nature and fortune invited him to assume. Wallace concluded with saying, that the interests of the country, no more than those of a brave man, could never be cultivated by the sacrifice of liberty; he was only desirous that his own life, as well as the existence of the nation, might terminate when they could only be preserved by receiving the chains of a conqueror.—*Hume*, vol. ii. p. 306.

This brave warrior was at last basely betrayed into Edward's hands, by Sir John Monteith, his friend, whom he had made acquainted with the place of his conceal-

And Edward the king enacted divers good laws and useful ordinances; and he laid great fines on many of his judges and other magistrates for their corruption; and he raised from their crimes two hundred and thirty-six thousand marks.

He banished also the Jews, to the number of fifteen thousand, and confiscated their goods.

And Edward reigned over England thirty and four years, seven months, and twenty days; and he died, and Edward his son reigned in his stead.

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ment. He was carried to London in chains, to be tried as a rebel and traitor, though he had never made submission to England, and was beheaded on Tower-hill. This was the unworthy fate, *says Hume*, of a hero, who, through a course of many years, had, with signal conduct, intrepidity, and perseverance, defended against a public and oppressive enemy, the liberties of his native country.

And Edward the King enacted divers good laws.] Besides fining, he deposed all the old judges, and made their successors swear they would take no bribes. He also took away the charter of the city of London, and turned out the mayor, because he offered himself to be bribed by the bakers. The Londoners shortly after recovered their charter, by paying twelve thousand pounds of silver to the King.

He banished also the Jews.] Sir Edward Coke says they were not banished; but usury being abolished by statute, they left the kingdom of their own accord. Besides usury, they were accused of adulterating the corn, and also of crucifying, in derision of Christ, Christian children. The last, no doubt, was a calumny, invented, like those against the Roman Catholics, to injure them in the opinion of the people.

And Edward reigned over England thirty and four years.] His death was a fortunate event for the Scots. He had made immense preparations to invade that country, and threatened to destroy the kingdom from sea to sea. He was seized with a distemper at Carlisle, which put an end to his days and revengeful projects. Before he died, he sent for his son Edward, and earnestly recommended to him three things: first, vigorously to prosecute the war with Scotland, till he had entirely subdued that country. For that purpose, he advised him to carry along with him his bones at the head of the army, supposing they would daunt the courage of the Scots. The second thing he recommended, was to send his heart to the Holy Land, with thirty-two thousand pounds, which he had provided for the support of the holy sepulchre. The third was, never to recall Gavaston. Edward was in the sixty-eighth year of his age when he died; and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Application.

Notwithstanding Edward's harsh proceedings towards Wales and Scotland, he is represented as the model of a warlike and politic prince. He possessed industry, penetration, courage, vigilance, and enterprise; he was frugal in his expenses; he punished criminals with severity; he was gracious and affable to his servants and courtiers; and being of a majestic figure, and in the main well-proportioned, notwithstanding the extraordinary length and smallness of his legs, he was as well qualified to captivate men by his exterior appearance, as the more solid virtues of his mind. His great improvements in the civil and criminal jurisprudence of the country, have obtained him the appellation of the English Justinian. He abolished the office of chief justiciary, which he thought possessed too much power. He settled the jurisdiction of the

several courts; first established the office of justice of the peace; abstained from the practice, too common before him, of interrupting justice by mandates from the privy council; repressed robberies and disorders; encouraged trade: and, in short, Hume says, he introduced a new face of things, by the vigour and wisdom of his administration.

Edward, however, was guilty of many arbitrary proceedings. It was with great reluctance that he was prevailed upon to confirm the Great Charter; and after he had given his consent, he applied secretly to the Pope to be absolved from his engagement. He seized at one time all the wool and leather in the kingdom, and disposed of them for his own benefit. He required the sheriffs to furnish him with 2000 quarters of wheat, and as many of oats, which he permitted them to seize wherever they could find them. These, and other violent proceedings, rendered him very unpopular for a time, even among the nobility. Being about to send an expedition to Gascony, the earl of Hereford, the constable, and the earl of Norfolk, the marshall, refused to take command of it. A violent altercation ensued; and the King, in the height of his passion, addressing himself to the constable, exclaimed, "*Sir Earl, by God you shall either go or hang.*" "*By God, Sir King.*" replied Hereford, "*I will neither go nor hang.*" The two earls then departed, and the King finding them obstinate, he was obliged to abandon the expedition.

Writs in this, as well as in the preceding reign, were issued to the boroughs to return members to parliament. In the preamble to the writ, Edward says, *it is a most equitable rule, that what concerns all should be approved by all; and common dangers repelled by united efforts.* A noble principle, which ought to be the motto of Reformers: it is the basis of an equitable system of representation. The deputies for the boroughs, however, had yet little or no influence in the state. They had no deliberative capacity, nor hardly a negative, but purely the privilege of giving their consent to such grants as the King might demand. Their charges were borne by the boroughs which sent them; and it was considered a disadvantage to be summoned to return deputies. The deputies gave sureties for their attendance before the King and parliament: they sat apart from the barons and knights, who disdained to mix with such mean personages; and when the burgesses had given their consent to the new taxes, they returned home, though the parliament still continued to sit to canvass the national business. The sheriffs used the freedom of omitting such boroughs as they conceived did not contain any persons of sufficient wealth or ability to quality them for the office of representatives; and the boroughs returned thanks for this omission, considering it an indulgence. This power of the sheriffs continued till the reign of Richard II. In the reign of Edward III. there is an instance of the King naming all the deputies. In the parliament summoned by Edward, in the year 1295, writs were issued to 120 cities and boroughs.—It is curious to reflect on these facts of the early history of the honourable house. Its history exhibits some resemblance to the rise and fall of many powerful kingdoms. We see it, by its virtue and perseverance, force its way from obscurity, weakness, and poverty, to power and distinction: having attained its meridian, we see it sink, amidst its own corruptions, into imbecility and nothingness.

Among the miscellaneous events of this reign, may be mentioned, the institution of the famous mercantile society, called the *Merchant Adventurers.* It was intended for the encouragement of the woollen manufacture. In 1303, the Exchequer was robbed of no less a sum than £100,000. The abbots and monks of Westminster were indicted for the robbery. The tribute of 1000 marks a-year, to which King John, in doing homage to the Pope, had subjected the kingdom, still continued to be paid. The statute of *mortmain* also passed in this reign. It was the first law of the kind in Europe, and prevented the clergy making any new acquisition of lands. It was a very necessary measure in this superstitious age: the clergy, taking advantage of the ignorance of the people, on their death-bed, frequently extorted from them large grants of land, as a pretended atonement for their transgressions. By the law of *mortmain* such grants were declared illegal.

X.—EDWARD II.

Now Edward was a wicked prince, and did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord.

And he departed from the worship of his fathers, and made unto himself two idols: and the name of the one was Gaveston, and the name of the other was Spencer.

And he set them up in his high places, and commanded them to be worshipped.

Howbeit certain of the nobles and great men of the kingdom refused to bow down before the idols, which Edward the king had set up.

And great tumults ensued, and the nobles rose up against the king,

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Now Edward was a wicked prince.] More correctly a *weak* than a wicked prince. History charges him with no particular crime, neither against the liberties, the properties, nor the lives of his subjects. His great defects were imbecility of understanding, and a total incapacity for government. The weakness of princes, however, frequently being the cause of wickedness in others, it may be said with some justice, that a weak prince is also wicked.

And he departed from the worship of his fathers, and made unto himself two idols.] A more puerile and contemptible prince is not to be found in the English annals. His extravagant attachment to his favourites, was more like love than friendship. Gaveston was the son of a Gascon knight, and insinuated himself into his favour by his agreeable manners, and supplying him with all those frivolous amusements which suited his capacity and inclination. Possessing a fine shape, easy air, sprightly wit, and excelling in all genteel and elegant exercises, he had those qualifications necessary to recommend him to the fair sex, but the last person in the world on whom a great prince should have bestowed unlimited confidence.—Spencer, the other favourite, was an Englishman of high rank, and of a noble family. He appeared to have been cast in the same mould as Gaveston: being a man of mere accomplishment, void of prudence or any other valuable intellectual endowment. These were the two idols which Edward set up for the worship of himself and the people.

And he set them up in his high places.] That is he made them his ministers; and during a journey to France, he appointed Gaveston guardian of the kingdom.

And great tumults ensued.] The nobles were indignant at seeing all the powers of the state in the hands of a worthless and insolent stranger. They bound themselves by an oath to expel Gaveston. At the head of the confederacy was Thomas earl of Lancaster, who possessed six earldoms, and the most powerful and opulent subject in England. A parliament being summoned at Westminster, Lancaster and his party came thither with an armed retinue; and were enabled to impose on the King what terms they pleased. Gaveston was banished; but such was the ridiculous fondness of the King, that he was recalled.

and reproved him, saying, O king, the gods which thou hast set up are idols, which we nor our fathers ever knew, neither will we worship.

Moreover they plucked them down from their high places, and dashed them in pieces, and utterly destroyed them.

Nevertheless the king repented not, neither turned he from the evil of his ways; wherefore they took from him the crown, and the sceptre, and the royal robes, and they deposed him from the government of the kingdom, after he had reigned over England nineteen years, six months, and fifteen days; and Edward his son reigned in his stead.

Moreover they plucked them down from their high places.] Gaveston was taken prisoner by the earl of Warwick in Dedington Castle, who, being joined by the earls of Lancaster and Hereford, they ordered his head to be struck off by the executioner. Spencer soon after shared the same fate, as well as his father.

Nevertheless the King repented not.] Nothing can be more pitiable than the history and death of Edward. All classes, particularly the barons, were worn out with his childish attachments; and, although accused of no particular crime, his imbecility and weakness, in the hands of others, had become as injurious to his subjects as the most consummate depravity. His own queen, Isabella, was at the head of the confederacy which deposed, and ultimately put him to death. The archbishop of Canterbury, the principal prelates, as well as a great part of the nobility, joined her party. Edward, after making some feeble attempts to excite the people in his favour, was taken prisoner in Wales, and compelled to resign the crown. He was soon after most inhumanly murdered in the Castle of Kenilworth, by the orders of Mortimer. The ruffians directed to despatch him, threw him on a bed, held him down with a table, thrust into his fundament a red hot iron; and though by this expedient any mark of outward violence was prevented, the crime was discovered by his attendants, by the dreadful screams with which the King filled the castle, while his bowels were consuming.

APPLICATION.

It is unnecessary to add any thing further in illustration of the character of this pitiable prince. His crimes were great, but his misfortunes appear still greater. He experienced all the calamities, which either monarchs or human nature can undergo. He was dethroned, barbarously treated, inhumanly murdered; and to complete his woes, an amorous Queen had long conferred on him those blooming honours which husbands abhor.

During this reign the country was visited by an earthquake and a famine. To remedy the evils of the latter, Parliament attempted to lower by law the price of provisions: a measure clearly evincing the ignorance of the legislature in matters of political economy. The price of provisions can only be reduced by introducing plenty; and to attempt forcibly to reduce the price would increase the consumption, discourage production, and thus aggravate the evils they ignorantly attempted to alleviate.

The immense possessions of the barons may be inferred from the petition of Spencer, father of the favourite of that name, who complained of the devastations committed on his lands by the rebellious nobles. He affirms, that they had ravaged sixty-three

manors belonging to him, and he makes his losses amount to £46,000, about £138,000 of our present money. Among other particulars, he enumerates 28,000 sheep, 1000 oxen and heifers, 1200 cows with their breed for two years, 560 cart horses, 2000 hogs, together with 6000 bacons, 80 carcases of beef, and 600 mutton in the larder, 10 tuns of cider, arms for 200 men, and other warlike engines and provisions.

In this reign was fought the famous battle of Bannockburn, which Burns has immortalized by his celebrated address, "*Scots wha hae wi Wallace bled.*" It was the greatest and most disgraceful overthrow the English ever sustained. Robert Bruce, who commanded the Scots, having drawn up his small army behind a rivulet, commanded pits to be dug along its banks, and sharp stakes to be planted in them; and ordered the whole to be covered over with turf. The English cavalry, led on by the Earl of Gloucester, advanced impetuously to the charge, and fell among the covered pits Bruce had prepared for their reception. Gloucester was slain; Sir James Douglas, who commanded the Scotch cavalry, gave them no time to rally, but drove them off the field in sight of their whole line of infantry. While the English were alarmed with this unfortunate commencement, they observed an army on the heights towards the left, which appeared marching leisurely in order to surround them; this was a number of waggoners and sumpter boys whom Bruce had collected, and having supplied them with military standards, gave them the appearance at a distance of a formidable body. The stratagem took effect: a panic seized the English; they threw down their arms and fled; they were pursued with great slaughter for the space of ninety miles, till they reached Berwick; and the Scots besides an inestimable booty took many persons of quality prisoners, and above 400 gentlemen, whose ransoms formed a new accession of wealth to the conquerors. The number of slain on this occasion is uncertain; but Hume, who was a Scotsman, says, that the defeat made such a deep impression on the minds of the English, that for some years no superiority of numbers could encourage them to keep the field against his countrymen.

The abolition of the Knights Templars seems deserving of some notice. This order had arisen during the first fervour of the Crusades; and was instituted at Jerusalem for the defence of the holy sepulchre and the protection of pilgrims. They were first called the *Poor of the Holy City;* afterwards they had the name of Templars from their house being near the temple: hence the origin of the Temple in London. Their devotion and valour, the two qualities most popular in that age, had obtained them ample possessions in every country in Europe, especially in France. In the course of time their immense wealth relaxed the severity of their virtues; and acquainted from experience with the fatigues and dangers of expeditions to the East, they rather chose to enjoy in Europe their ample revenues; and being all men of birth, educated according to the custom of the age, without any tincture of letters, they scorned the ignoble occupation of a monastic life, and passed their time in the fashionable amusements of hunting, gallantry, and the pleasures of the table.

Philip, King of France, however, entertaining some private disgust against some eminent Templars, was the principal cause of their ruin. On no better information than that of two knights, condemned by their superiors to perpetual imprisonment for their vices and profligacy, this cruel and vindictive monarch ordered all the Templars in France to be committed to prison, imputing to them the most horrible crimes. They were accused of murder, robbery, heresy, and a most unnatural offence. More than a hundred of these calumniated men were put to the torture, in order to extort from them a confession of guilt. The most obstinate perished in the hands of their tormentors; several to procure immediate ease, in the violence of their agonies, acknowledged whatever was required of them; forged confessions were imputed to others; and Philip, pretending their guilt was confirmed, proceeded to confiscate their treasures. But no sooner were the Templars removed from their torments, than, preferring the most cruel execution to life with infamy, they justified the innocence of their order, and appealed to all the gallant actions performed by them in ancient or later times as a full answer to their calumniators. The barbarous tyrant, enraged at this disappointment, ordered fifty-four of them, whom he branded as relapsed heretics, to be burnt to death in his capital; and when he found that the perseverance of these

unhappy men had made deep impression on the spectators, he endeavoured to overcome their obstinacy by new cruelties. The grand master of the order, and another great officer, were conducted to the scaffold; a full pardon was offered to them on one hand, the fire destined for their execution was shown to them on the other. These brave nobles, persisting in the innocence of their order, were hurried into the flames.

In all this barbarous injustice the Pope, who was the creature of Philip, and then resided in France, concurred, and without examining a witness or making any further inquiry, abolished the order. The Templars all over Europe were thrown into prison; but though their conduct underwent a strict scrutiny, no traces of their guilt were pretended to be found. In short, they appear to have been the victims of a foul conspiracy, and their greatest crime a certain degree of luxury and licentiousness, the consequence of their prodigious wealth. Their possessions were transferred to the order of St. John of Jerusalem, whose poverty had as yet preserved them from a like corruption. At the time of the dissolution of the Templars they were possessed of 16,000 lordships, besides other lands. It was a common saying, *To drink like a Templar.*

The kingdom still continued greatly infested with robbers, who were still further increased by the famine, which obliged the nobility to dismiss many of their retainers. They met in troops like armies, and overran the country. Two cardinals, notwithstanding the numerous train which attended them, were robbed and despoiled of their goods and equipage when they travelled on the highway.

Hume relates, that he had seen a French manuscript containing an account of some private disbursements of Edward. There was an item of a crown paid to one for making the king laugh. This, he observes, from the events of the reign ought not to have been an easy undertaking.

XI.—EDWARD III.

AND Edward was fourteen years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England fifty years, and his mother's name was Isabella.

And she took upon her the government of the kingdom during the infancy of her son: and her heart lusted after idols, and after all the abominations of her husband.

And she made unto herself an idol, and called its name Mortimer; and she fell down before it, and worshipped with great zeal day and night.

Howbeit when Edward the king became of age, he was greatly

And she made unto herself an idol, and called its name Mortimer.] She had long had a criminal intercourse with this nobleman, and according to Froissart, it was reported she was with child. Mortimer had the government entirely in his hands, by her favour.

Howbeit when Edward the King became of age—even the tree of Tyburn.] The pregnancy of Isabella, as well as the pride, ambition, and rapacity of Mortimer, was the cause of his downfall. Edward, owing to the great influence of this nobleman, and being surrounded with his creatures, was obliged to proceed with great caution

offended at the abominations of his mother: wherefore he put her in prison, and he plucked down the idol which she had set up, and he hung it on a tree, even the tree of Tyburn.

And Edward became a great and mighty king, and begat a son, and called him after his own name: moreover he was afterwards surnamed the Black Prince, and he waxed strong and valiant, and became a mighty warrior in the land.

And he fought the battles of his father, and the arm of the Lord

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Having at length communicated his design to a few of the nobles who hated Mortimer, the castle of Nottingham was chosen for the scene of the enterprise. The Queen and Mortimer lodged in that fortress; and as the castle was strictly guarded, the gates locked, and the keys conveyed to the Queen, who slept with them under her pillow, it was necessary to communicate the plot to Sir Richard Eland, the governor, who zealously took part in it. By Edward's orders his associates were admitted through a subterraneous passage; and Mortimer, notwithstanding the Queen's cries and exclamations, entreating them *To spare the gallant Mortimer*,* was apprehended, and conducted under a strong guard to the Tower of London. A parliament was immediately summoned for his condemnation. He was accused of having procured the death of the late King; of having obtained exorbitant grants of the royal domains; of having dissipated the public treasure; of having seduced the Queen; of having secreted 20,000 marks of the money paid by the King of Scotland; and of other crimes and misdemeanors. The parliament condemned him from the supposed notoriety of the facts, without trial, or hearing his answer, or examining a witness; and he was hanged on a gibbet at the Elms, in the neighbourhood of London.

It is remarkable, that this sentence, twenty years after, was reversed by parliament, in favour of Mortimer's son, on account of the alleged *illegality* of the proceeding. This shows that the principles of justice were beginning to prevail, though not sufficiently established. The descendants of Mortimer, by the female line, subsequently succeeded to the throne. The Queen was deprived of her exorbitant income, which she had granted to herself, and reduced to a pension of £3000 a-year. She was also confined to her house at Risings, near London, where she lived twenty-eight years after; the King, her son, visiting her once or twice a-year, more out of decency, Rapin says, than affection. At her death she was buried in the choir of the Grey Friars, now Christ Church, in London.

And Edward—begat a son—surnamed the Black Prince.] So called from the colour of his armour. He is described by historians as the most excellent prince England had ever produced; and little inferior in virtue and talent to the Roman Scipio. He was a good soldier, a great general, brave without fierceness, bold in battle, but affable in conversation, and of a modest demeanour. Ever submissive and respectful to the King his father, whom he never once disobliged. Generous, liberal, pleased with rewarding merit wherever he found it, he wanted no qualification to form a perfect hero. Such is the character given of this renowned warrior.

And he fought the battles of his father—and took prisoner the King thereof.] In these wars were fought the celebrated battles of Cressy and Poictiers. At the battle of Cressy Edward employed artillery: the first time mention is made of that terrible invention in Europe. It changed the whole art of war; rendered battles less bloody, and their results more dependent on skill and generalship, than numbers and courage.—At the battle of Poictiers, where King John and his son were taken prisoners, there were six Frenchmen to one Englishman. The overthrow of the French, at Cressy, was complete: among the slain were eight hundred nobles, the Duke of Bourbon, a prince of the blood, the

* Her words were, "Bel-Fitz, Bel-Fitz, ayez pitie du gentile Mortimer."

was with him, and he conquered the kingdom of France, and took prisoner the king thereof, with his son and many of the nobles.

And Edward the king took on him the sovereignty of France, and he quartered the arms of the kingdom; and his successors are called kings of France unto this day.

And the Black Prince restored also to his kingdom Peter king of Castile, and defeated his enemies.

And his name became great over all the earth, and the princes thereof sought his friendship.

Howbeit, as it is written of old, *the race is not to the swift, nor*

Duke of Athenes, Constable of France, the Marshal de Noailles, and above fifty other great lords of the kingdom. The Kings also of Bohemia and Majorca were slain. The fate of the former was remarkable:—he was blind from age; but being resolved to set an example to others, he ordered the reins of his bridle to be tied on each side to the horses of two gentlemen of his train, and his dead body, and those of his attendants, were afterwards found among the slain, with their horses standing by them in that situation. His crest was three ostrich feathers, and his motto these German words, Ich Dien, *I serve*, which continues to be borne by the Prince of Wales.

The generous and magnanimous conduct of the Black Prince, to his illustrious prisoners, has been justly celebrated. He ordered a repast to be prepared in his tent for the King, and served at his table as if he had been one of his retinue. When they made their entry into London, the King of France was clad in royal apparel, and mounted on a stately white courser, adorned with costly trappings. The conqueror rode by his side in a meaner attire, and carried by a black palfrey. They were received by Sir Henry Picard, the Lord Mayor, with the Aldermen, in their formalities, with the city pageants; in the streets, as the procession passed to Westminster, the citizens hung out all their plate, tapestry, and armour. The mayor, who was a wine-merchant, afterwards invited all the four Kings of England, France, Scotland, and Cyprus, with their retinues, to a feast at his own house, where they were magnificently entertained. —The King of France appears to have been a brave and generous prince; a saying of his is worth preserving—namely, that *Though faith and truth were banished from the rest of the world, they ought, however, to be preserved in the breasts of Kings.*

And the Black Prince restored also to his kingdom, Peter, King of Castile.] This we apprehend would have been better let alone. Peter appears to have been a perfect monster, and, for his barbarities, obtained the epithet of *Cruel*. He had filled his kingdom with blood and murder. His nobles fell every day the victims of his ferocity. He put to death several of his natural brothers from groundless jealousy. Love seemed to inflame, rather than soften the violence of his nature; and having first thrown his queen into prison, he then poisoned her, and married one of his mistresses. Such is the character given of Peter of Castile.

Howbeit, as it is written of old.] He died of a fever, June 8, 1396; and by his will ordered his body to be buried in the cathedral at Canterbury. He was universally regretted, and the Parliament, as a mark of their esteem, attended his funeral. Over his grave is erected a stately monument of grey marble, with his portraiture of copper, gilt; the ends and sides are garnished with escutcheons, also of copper, enamelled with his arms and devices, and superscribed with the words *Houmont* and *Ich Dien*. On an iron bar, over the tomb, are placed the helmet and crest, coat of mail, and gauntlets; and, on a pillar, his shield of arms, richly diapered with gold. On a fillet of brass is circumscribed a French epitaph; and on the south-side of the foot, and north-side of the tomb, are verses in that language.

the battle to the strong, a distemper took him, and he died in the forty and sixth year of his age; and the glory of Edward his father from that time forth diminished.

In these days lived thilk grete poet, hight Geoffery Chaucere, the fader of Inglish poesie, whose workis ben ritten in rime, and imprinted in a boke, yclyped the workis of maister Geoffery Chaucere: and he smothed the tonge of his contrie, and his fame is woxen grete in the lond.

Now the rest of the acts of king Edward, and the noble order of the garter that he instituted, behold they are written in the book of Ashmole the herald.

And Edward reigned over England fifty years, and he died, and Richard his grandson reigned in his stead.

In these days lived thilk grete poet, hight Geoffery Chaucere.] Neither where the *fader of English poesie* was born, nor his profession, nor his origin, are certainly known. His *workis* are so impregnated with old French and old English, that they are not easily understood. His principal performances are the *Assemblees of Foules*, the *Complaint of the Black Knight*, and the *Canterbury Tales*. Pope has given a beautiful version of his Wife of Bath, January and May, and some other of his stories. Edward allowed him 20 marks yearly, equal to £200 present money, and a pitcher of wine daily. He appears to have been a dextrous courtier; filled several important offices about the King; and acquired great wealth. Wood, in his Annals, relates, that the *fader of English poesie* repented of his evil ways. He did not repent of what he had said of the clergy, "Yet of that he wrote of love and bauderie, it grieved him much on his death-bed, and he cried out, 'Woe is me! woe is me! that I cannot recall and annul those things which I have written of *the base and filthy loves* of men towards women; but alas! they are now contomed from man to man, and I cannot do that which I desire.'"

Alas! poor Geoffrey Chaucere; let all authors and authoresses take warning from the miserable end of Geoffrey Chaucere, and abstain from the *base and filthy loves of men towards women*. Geoffrey's repentance was something like Solomon's vanity of vanities. Philosophers have since attempted to explain, why men's opinions change from youth to age; it depends on something of the same principles as the jaundice, but we cannot step to explain the mystery in detail. Johnson says, Chaucer was "the first of our versifiers who wrote poetically."

Now the rest of the acts of King Edward—Ashmole the herald.] We know nothing of Ashmole worth mentioning, except that he was the Windsor herald, and wrote a prodigious work on the Order of the Garter, for which Charles II. granted him an annuity of £400. Different accounts are given of the origin of the Order of the Garter. One account states that it arose from the Countess of Salisbury having dropped her garter at a ball, which the King took up, exclaiming, HONI SOIT QUI MAL Y PENSE,—*Evil to him that evil thinks*. Another account says, that the King hoisted his garter as the signal of battle at Cressy. A third ascribes the motto to the French war, and says it was intended to imply a defiance and shame on those who should oppose the claim of Edward to that crown.—Originally there were 26 Knights Companions; but in the year 1786, owing to the increase in the Royal Family, six more were added. Various officers, as Prelate, Chancellor, Register, King at Arms, and Usher of the Black Rod, are attached to the Order. With the exception of the Prelate, they all receive fees and pensions.

And Edward reigned over England fifty years.] Edward, like many other great men,

Edward the Third.

lived too long for his own glory and fame. In his old age he fell desperately in love with Alice Pierce, one of the ladies of the bed-chamber to Queen Philippa. The money raised for the war was lavished on this mistress. His whole time was spent in endeavouring to please and procure her diversions. To consummate his folly, he held a tournament in Smithfield, where Alice Pierce, to whom the old dotard had given the name of *Lady of the Sun*, appeared by his side in a triumphant chariot, attended by many ladies of quality, each leading a knight by his horse's bridle. In short, it is clear Edward became quite a fool in his latter days. He only survived the death of the Black Prince about a year. Alice, his favourite, attended him in his last illness; and when she saw Edward dying, seized every thing of value she could find, even to the rings on his finger, and withdrew. The last word the King pronounced was the the name of *Christ*. He died at Shene, now Richmond, in the sixty-fifth year of his age, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

Application.

This long reign upon the whole was fortunate for England. It is not, however, the military glories of Edward we so much admire, as the excellence of his civil administration. The exorbitant power of the barons was restrained, and the commons, under the protection of the King, began gradually to rise into importance. Many good laws were enacted, of which the most popular was the 25th of the King. This statute limited the cases of high treason, before vague and uncertain to three principal heads—namely, conspiring the death of the King, levying war against him, and adhering to his enemies; and should any other cases occur the Judges were prohibited inflicting the penalty of treason, without first applying to parliament. The *Grenville Act*, and numerous laws relative to the coin, have subsequently greatly added to the number of treasons.

The 28th Edw. III. cap. 3, enacts, *That no man, of what state or condition soever, shall be put out of land or tenement, nor* TAKEN, NOR IMPRISONED, *nor disinherited, nor put to death, without being brought to answer by* DUE PROCESS OF LAW —In how many instances this law has been violated within the last two years! Another important enactment, is the 4th Edw. III. c. 14, which ordains, that a *parliament shall be held once a year, or oftener if need be*. This law, like many others, was very little observed, and lost its authority by disuse. Edward granted no fewer than twenty parliamentary confirmations of MAGNA CHARTA, which implies that great bulwark was not very religiously observed; otherwise, where the necessity for these repeated confirmations?

The magnificent castle of Windsor was built by Edward III. The architect was the celebrated William Wickham, the founder of that much abused and perverted establishment Winchester College. The mode of conducting the undertaking illustrates the manners of the age. Instead of engaging workmen by contracts and wages, the King assessed every county in England to send him a certain number of masons, tilers, and carpenters, as if he had been levying an army.

The first toll we read of in England for mending the highways was imposed in this reign; and was for repairing the road betwixt St. Giles's and Temple Bar.

The contrast betwixt the price of labour and the rewards of military service is singular. A reaper, in the first week of August, was not allowed above two-pence a day, nearly sixpence present money; in the second week a third more. A master carpenter was limited through the whole year to threepence a day, a common carpenter to twopence, money of that age. Wages were fixed by Act of Parliament. If a man boarded with his employer, one-third of his wages was the price of his subsistence. But what is remarkable, the pay of a common soldier was sixpence a day, equivalent to five shillings present money. Soldiers were then enlisted only for a very short time. One successful campaign, by pay and plunder, and the ransom of prisoners, was supposed to be a small fortune to a man, and enabled him to live idly the rest of his life.

Many ridiculous laws were enacted to restrain luxury of living. No man, under a hundred pounds a year, was allowed to wear gold, silver, or silk, in his clothes. Servants were also prohibited eating flesh meat or fish above once a day No one was allowed either for dinner or supper above three dishes in each course, and not above two courses. *Soused* meat, or what is known in Yorkshire, we believe, by *stewed* meat, counted as one of the dishes. These things always regulate themselves best; and the wisest legislation is that which permits individuals to eat, drink, and wear whatever they please or can afford.

In speaking of the House of Commons, we omitted an important fact. In the election of members, lawyers, from their mean character, were totally excluded the house during several parliaments. It were well to revert to this ancient practice. Lawyers, of all men, make the worst legislators; their interest is in the making of *bad* and not *good laws*.

Among the most remarkable phenomena of the age may be reckoned the prowess of an English tailor. This knight of buckram and twist was bound apprentice to a tailor in London; quitted his trade, and went a soldier into France, where he was knighted for his valour; and going into Italy, was so much in favour with the Duke of Milan, that he gave him his natural daughter in marriage. After the Duke's death, he served the commonwealth of Florence; and dying in their service, the Florentines, in testimony of their gratitude for his valour and services, erected an equestrian statue of marble to his memory. The name of this hero was Thomas Hackwood; he was the son of a tanner in Essex.—*Rapin*, vol. 3, p. 507.

XII.—RICHARD II.

And Richard was a wicked prince, and did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, oppressing the people, and loading them with grievous impositions.

And he laid a tax on the heads of all his subjects, from fifteen years old and upwards, of what sex or condition soever, which was called the poll-tax, and it was collected with great strictness and severity.

And it came to pass, that one of the tax-gatherers came to the

And Richard was a wicked prince.] Richard being only eleven years of age, the government was placed in the hands of his uncles; three ambitious men, who, to keep the young prince in a perpetual minority, took more pains to corrupt than improve his understanding. His education was entirely neglected; he was encouraged in every species of excess and folly; and spent his time principally in the most dissolute company of both sexes; and contracted a taste for pomp and pleasure, rather than the duties of his station.

And he laid a tax upon the heads of all his subjects.] The tax was 12*d.* each. None were excepted from this impost, it was levied even on the monks and nuns.

house of a certain tyler at the town of Deptford, in Kent, commonly called Wat the tyler, and demanded the tax for one of his daughters.

And Wat the tyler said unto him, Nay verily, but thou shouldst not demand the tax of my daughter, for the maiden is not yet fifteen years old.

Howbeit the tax-gatherer believed not the words of her father, for the virgin was fair and comely to look on.

Wherefore he stooped down, and put his hand beneath the garments of the maiden, to see if peradventure the signs of her womanhood might not appear; and he discovered her nakedness.

And the virgin was covered with shame, insomuch that she spake not a word.

But the impudence of the thing incensed her father, and his indignation kindled against the officer, and he had a hammer in his hand, with which he strake him on the head that his brains came out.

And immediately a great tumult arose, and all the people defended the action of Wat the tyler, and praised his courage: moreover they chose him for their captain, and determined to abolish the tax.

And they marched in a body and encamped on Black-Heath, and and he was joined there by Jack Straw, and their number increased to an hundred thousand men.

And a certain priest named Ball, was chaplain to the army, and he preached to the multitude from these words:

When Adam *delv'd and* Eve *span,*
Who was then a gentleman?

Wherefore he stooped down.] Our author, after the manner of the *Divine Historians*, is very plain in some parts of his narrative. What he says must be taken rather in a *scriptural* than a *literal* sense, and an allowance must be made for the different manners of the age. Hume, Henry, Rapin, and other *profane writers*, concur in the same facts.

And a certain priest named Ball.] The history of Wat Tyler's insurrection has been finely dramatized by Robert Southey, poet laureat. He makes *John Ball* say—

"My brethren, *these are truths and weighty ones*
Ye are all equal: nature made ye so

From hence he taught them that all men were born equal, that it was never the design of heaven that one part of mankind should be the slaves and vassals of the other; and therefore exhorted them to destroy the nobility, the clergy, the magistrates, and all who pretended to lord it over them.

With these *pious* resolutions they marched to London, and encamped on Tower Hill, plundering and burning the houses of all whom they thought their enemies.

And they set fire to the Temple, and burnt and destroyed the writings of all the lawyers; they burned also the palace and all the rich furniture of the duke of Lancaster in the Savoy.

And they dragged from the churches and from the altars many who had fled for refuge, and slew them in the streets.

Equality is your birth right;—when I gaze
On the proud palace, behold ONE MAN
In the blood purpl'd robes of royalty,
Feasting at ease and lording over millions;
Then turn me to the hut of poverty,
And see the wretched lab'rer, worn with toil,
Divide his scanty morsel with his infants,
I sicken, and indignant at the sight,
Blush for the patience of humanity."

In another place the laureate makes *Ball* ask the Judge—

——————" Why sit you there clad in your furs?
Why are your cellars stor'd with choicest wines?
Your larders hung with dainties, while your vassal,
As virtuous, and as able too by nature,
Tho' by your *selfish tyranny deprived*
Of mind's improvements shivers in his rags,
AND STARVES AMIDST THE PLENTY HE CREATES."

Again, Mr. SOUTHEY makes Tyler say—

" King of England,
Petitioning for pity is most weak,
The *sovereign people* ought to DEMAND JUSTICE."

The renegade laureat afterwards disavowed these truths; and, on a late occasion, had the baseness to attempt to prevent their circulation. The cause of all this may be found in the BLACK BOOK; where we find *Robert Southey* in the list of state caterpillars, and receiving an annual income out of the pockets of the people as the price of his servility and apostacy.

And they strake off the head of Simon Sudbury, archbishop of Canterbury, and Hales the high treasurer, and many more, on Tower-Hill.

Then the King sent messengers unto them, desiring to know what they would have: and Wat the tyler demanded to speak with the King in person.

Then Richard the King, attended by many of his nobles, and the mayor and the aldermen of London, went forth to meet him, and they met him in Smithfield.

And he behaved with great arrogance, and his demands were so extravagant that the King knew not what answer to make unto him.

Moreover he commanded the squire who held the sword of the King to deliver it to him: howbeit the squire took courage and refused to deliver it, saying, *The sword of a King would ill become the hand of a knave.*

Now Wat the tyler was vexed at this saying, and he advanced with his sword to slay the squire.

Then Richard the King attended by many of his nobles.] The first interview was appointed at Redriff, on the banks of the Thames, where Tyler and his followers were assembled. The King went on board his barge early in the morning, and steered towards Redriff, accompanied by the earl of Salisbury, and many other noblemen. As soon as they beheld the royal barge approaching, Froissart says, they set up such a horrible yell, as if all the devils in hell had been in their company. The King's attendants dissuaded him from exposing himself to such a furious assemblage; upon which he put back, and returned to the Tower. This was the first attempt at an interview.

And he behaved with great arrogance, and his demands were so extravagant.] There appears to have been nothing very extravagant in the demands of Wat Tyler and his followers. They demanded that they, their lands, possessions, and posterity, might be free. That all warrens, parks, and chases, should be made free and common to all; and that there might be no more slavery or servitude in England for ever. The King promised to grant them the most ample charters of freedom, under the great seal, with a pardon for all that was past, on condition that they would return to their homes. These terms were accepted by one body of the populace; and about thirty expert clerks being set to work to write these charters, which consisted only of a few lines; they were sealed and delivered to all who demanded them, who thereupon returned home, happy in the success of their expedition. But the King afterwards violated his promise.—*Henry's Great Britain*, vol. vii. p. 321; and *Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 21.

Now Wat the tyler—advanced with his sword to slay the squire.] Rapin says, the King having arrived first in Smithfield, sent a knight to Tyler to desire him to come

Then William Walworth, the mayor of London, was exceedingly enraged at the insolence of the tyler, and he stepped forth, and smote him with a dagger that he died: wherefore the dagger was added to the arms of the city.

Thus ended the insurrection of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw; and all the rabble returned each to his own house.

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and confer with him. Wat replied to this message, he would come when he thought proper. However, he moved forward at the head of his followers, but so slowly, that the King beginning to be out of patience, he sent the same knight to him to urge him to make more haste, which had like to have cost the knight his life. Tyler had just entered Smithfield, when the knight delivered the King's message, without alighting, not imagining Wat would stand upon that ceremony. But Tyler having grown insolent, as he had grown powerful, was so offended at this want of respect, that he was going to kill him, if the King, who was advancing, had not cried out to the knight to dismount.

Then William Walworth—enraged at the insolence of the tyler.] Wat took hold of the King's bridle, and frequently lifted up his sword as if to threaten him in case he granted not his demands. His assassination seems to have been a perilous experiment; for his followers, who amounted to more than 40,000, enraged at the death of their leader, were upon the point of inflicting summary vengeance upon the King and his small retinue. This catastrophe was prevented by the King's presence of mind. Instead of flying, he rode up to the assemblage, exclaiming with a resolute and courageous voice: *What, my lieges, will you then kill your King! Be not concerned for the loss of your leader, I myself will now be your general.* This cajollery succeeded; the King placed himself at their head; led them into St. George's Fields; meanwhile, Sir Robert Knolles having assembled one thousand armed citizens; the sight of these disconcerted the rioters: they threw down their arms and immediately dispersed; and thus without the effusion of any blood, except their leader's, was this formidable commotion suppressed.

As to the dagger, it certainly forms a part of the arms of the city, but Stow, in his Survey, gives a different account of its origin; he says it is the sword of St. Paul. The more probable account, however, is, that it had its origin in the exploit of Walworth, who was afterwards knighted, and an annuity of one hundred pounds settled upon him for ever.

Thus ended the insurrection of Wat Tyler and Jack Straw.] It is the most formidable commotion mentioned in English history. It is remarkable for its suddenness, the extent of the mischief perpetrated, and its wide diffusion through different parts of the country. The people not only rose against their oppressors in Kent, but also in Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and various other parts of the kingdom. At St. Albans, a prodigious multitude, under the command of Gryndicobbe, and Cadyndon, a chandler, cut off the heads of several gentlemen; and threatening to do the same to the monks and abbot, they extorted from them charters of freedom from bondage. Another party, near St. Edmonsbury, commanded by one Robert Westbroom, beheaded Sir John Cavendish, Lord Chief Justice, and did incredible mischief. In Norfolk, the rustics assembled in immense numbers, under the command of John Littester, a dyer, in Norwich, who assumed the title of *King of the Commons.*

But all these commotions terminated in nothing beneficial to the people. After the death of Wat Tyler, and the dispersion of his followers, the different parties of insurgents separated and returned to their homes. Immediately after, the King sum-

Richard the Second.

And Richard the King made unto himself idols, as Edward the second his predecessor had done: and the thing which he did, displeased the people, and they took the crown from off his head, and put it on the head of Henry duke of Lancaster, the son of John of Gaunt.

moned all the military servants of the crown to appear at London with horses and arms. This summons was so well obeyed, that in a few days an army of 40,000 horsemen appeared at the rendezvous on Blackheath. As soon as the King found himself supported by so great a power, he issued a proclamation, commanding all tenants in villanage to perform their usual services to their lords In a few days after he proceeded a step farther, and revoked all the charters of freedom and manumission which had been granted to the common people, and which act of injustice and treachery was shortly after confirmed by parliament. Commissions were then issued to the judges to go into different counties to try the delinquents. These commissions were executed with so much severity, especially by Sir Robert Tresillian, chief justice of the King's bench, that more than 1500 of these unhappy men were condemned and executed as traitors.* The whole of the disturbances lasted about a month. It was an abortive attempt on the part of the villains to throw off the iron yoke of feudal bondage and recover the rights of men

And Richard the King made unto himself idols—Henry duke of Lancaster] Though Richard occasionally evinced traits of courage and understanding, he was upon the whole a weak, tyrannical, and incapable prince. His taste for pomp and magnificence had become extremely burdensome to his people; and though a terrible plague and famine ravaged the country, he made no abatement in his ridiculous and expensive pleasures. It is said he daily entertained ten thousand persons. In his kitchen alone three hundred domestics were employed, and the queen had the like number of women in her service. He valued himself upon surpassing in splendour all the sovereigns in Europe; which foolish vanity being very chargeable to his subjects, necessarily drew upon him their aversion.†

The chief cause, however, of his downfal was, the violent seizure of the estates of Henry of Bolingbroke, Duke of Lancaster, then an exile in France. Such a flagrant act of injustice excited the indignation of all classes against the King, and compassion for the banished duke. While these discontents were raging, Richard had the imprudence to undertake an expedition to Ireland, to revenge the death of Mortimer, Earl of Marche; and thus left the kingdom at the mercy of the malcontents.

The Duke of Lancaster hearing of these things, and having received invitations from many powerful barons, determined to invade England, and recover by force the rights of which he had been unjustly deprived. He landed at Ravenspur, in Yorkshire, July 4, and was immediately joined by the earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, and many other powerful noblemen and their followers. He marched southward, giving out that he was only going to recover possession of his inheritance, which brought such immense multitudes to his standard, that they soon amounted to sixty thousand men. Shortly after, he was joined by the regent of the kingdom, the Duke of York, with a considerable army. Every thing was now lost. Richard, on landing from Ireland, instead of finding the regent at the head of an army for the support of his authority, found him ranged on the side of his rival. He then disbanded his small army, and retired to Conway castle. Being almost alone, he saw no other alternative than throwing himself on the mercy of his enemy. He sent one of his attendants to the duke, desiring a conference; and offering, on condition

* Henry's History of Great Britain, vol. vii. p. 315. † Rapin, vol. iv. p. 52.

his life was secured, and an honourable pension granted to himself and eight persons whom he should name, to resign the crown. The King then repaired to Flint, about ten miles from Chester, where the duke was now arrived Next day the duke being come to Flint, went to the King, who said to him, with a cheerful countenance, *Cousin of Lancaster you are welcome.* Then the duke bowing thrice to the ground, replied, *My lord the King, I am come sooner than you appointed me; because the common fame of your people is, that you have for this one and twenty years governed very ill and rigorously, with which they are not at all satisfied; but if it please God I will help you to govern them better for the future.* To which the King returned, *Fair cousin, since it pleases you, it pleases us also.*

Richard being now in the power of his enemies, the remainder of his history is very brief. A parliament being summoned, thirty-five articles were prepared, in which he was accused of various crimes and misdemeanors; and no one, with the exception of the bishop of Carlisle, venturing to say any thing in his defence, he was solemnly deposed. The throne being thus declared vacant, the Duke of Lancaster, though not the nearest heir to the last possessor, rose from his seat, and having with great appearance of devotion invoked the name of Christ, and crossed himself on the breast and forehead, claimed the crown in the following words: *In the name of Fadher, Son, and Holy Ghost, I Henry of Lancaster, challenge this rewme of Ynglonde, and the crowne with all the members and the apurtenances, als I that am decendit by ryght lyne of the blode, cumynge fra the good lord King Henry Thirde, and throughe that ryght God of his grace hath sent me, with helpe of my kyn, and of my frendes to recover it; which rewme was in poynt to be ondone for defaute of governance, and undoying of the gude lawes.*—After this harangue the archbishop of Canterbury took Henry by the right hand and conducted him towards the empty throne, and with the assistance of the archbishop of York placed him upon it, amidst the acclamations of the assembly. As soon as silence could be obtained, the primate preached a sermon, and endeavoured to represent this unprincipled usurpation as the will of God, and Henry the Lord's anointed. His text was well chosen for his purpose; it was taken from 1 Samuel, ix. 17. "*Behold the man whom I spake to thee of: this same shall reign over my people.*"

As to Richard he did not long survive his deposition, though the exact time and manner of his death are not exactly known. The most probable account appears to be, that he was starved to death in Pontefract-castle, about the beginning of the year 1400. He was dethroned in the 23d year of his reign, and the 34th of his age, and never had any children.

Application.

What we have incidentally said, without any further remark, will sufficiently illustrate the character of this prince. In the miscellaneous events of this period there is not much deserving of comment. In our remarks on the last reign, we mentioned the statute of mortmain. With that selfish cunning peculiar to the generality of the order, the clergy attempted to evade the provisions of that law. The mortmain act having incapacitated them from inheriting devises of land, they prevailed upon their votaries to leave lands in trust to certain persons, under whose names the clergy enjoyed the benefit of the bequest. This new device was frustrated by parliament.

Among the religious vagaries of the time, we may mention the dispute betwixt *Duns Scotus* and *Thomas Aquinas*, on the miraculous conception. *Duns Scotus*, commonly called Doctor Subtle, from his pure and mystical notion on this intricate subject, contended, that the seed of the virgin did not mingle with the seed of the Holy Ghost in a carnal and corporeal sense, but only in a spiritual manner. On the contrary, *Thomas Aquinas* contended, that the conception was *real* and in a worldly sense. Both had their partizans. But these impassable mysteries are far above our comprehension. We merely mention them, to show, how little reason, in matters of religion, has ad-

vanced in the space of four hundred years. We may laugh at the whimsies of *Duns Scotus*, but will not posterity laugh also at our own disputes about grace, free will, election, the triune mystery, and fifty more strange things, about which mankind still continue to hate, prosecute, and quarrel with each other?

We shall conclude with a remark on the fashions of this age. In this reign was brought in the custom of wearing peaked shoes, tied to the knee with chains of silver. Ladies used high attire, with long trained gowns, and rode on side-saddles; a fashion newly brought into the kingdom by Anne, queen of Bohemia: before that time, according to Stowe, the women used to ride astride like men.

XIII.—HENRY IV.

AND Henry was thirty and three years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England thirteen years, five months, and one and twenty days.

And he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, as most of his fathers had done.

Howbeit he made an act for burning of heretics; and they that could not believe as the church commanded, were tied to a stake till the flames consumed them: and for this he was called by the priests and the monks, the writers of that time, a pious and religious prince.

And he was seized with an apoplexy, and he died, and Henry his son reigned in his stead.

Howbeit he made an act for burning of heretics.] This act ordained that no person should presume to preach, instruct, or teach any thing contrary to the catholic faith and the determination of the holy church. Any person transgressing this law was to be burnt before the people in some high place. This bloody statute stood unrepealed till the year 1677. The clergy having obtained the power, they soon put it in force. The ecclesiastical court condemned William Sowtel, a Lollard, who, being delivered over to the secular arm, was burnt alive by virtue of the King's writ, directed to the mayor of London. He was the first who suffered death in England on account of his religion.

And he was seized with an apoplexy.] Rapin says it was the leprosy. But it is no great matter. Henry outlived all the popularity he enjoyed at the commencement of his reign. There was nothing in this reign worth preserving, therefore we shall make no application of the events of this period.

XIV.—HENRY V.

And Henry was a valiant prince, and a great warrior.

And he laid claim to the crown of France, and marched into the kingdom with an army of thirty thousand men, taking the town of Harfleur, with many other strong towns.

And he defeated the French army at the battle of Agincourt, and

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And Henry was a valiant prince.] Before this prince ascended the throne, his talents had been obscured by excess and debauchery. His associates were of the lowest and most abandoned description, and he had been frequently detected in frolics rather unsuitable to his rank. It is said, that when heated with liquor, he used to sally forth with his riotous companions, and attack the passengers in the streets and highways, and despoiling them of their goods, amuse himself with the incidents produced by their fears. There happened, however, an adventure in which it clearly appeared that Henry was not wholly a stranger to justice and generosity. One of his companions had been indicted before Gascoigne, the chief justice, for some disorder; and Henry was not ashamed to appear at the bar to afford the offender his countenance and protection. Finding his presence had not overawed the chief justice, he proceeded to insult the magistrate upon the tribunal; but Gascoigne, mindful of the respect due to his office and the laws, ordered him to be carried to prison for his rude behaviour. The spectators were agreeably disappointed, when they saw the prince submit to this sentence and acknowledge his error. These, and some other traits, gave favourable hopes of the future character of Henry; and accordingly, when he ascended the throne, he appears to have undergone an entire reformation. He summoned together all his dissolute companions, acquainted them with his intended change, exhorted them to follow his example, but forbad them, till they had given proof of their sincerity in this particular, to appear in his presence; and he then dismissed them with presents.

And he defeated the French army at the battle of Agincourt.] This famous victory was won on the 25th October, 1415. Hume observes, that there is a wonderful resemblance in the principal circumstances of the three great battles of Cressy, Poictiers, and Agincourt. In all of these the English had rashly advanced into the enemy's country, without leaving themselves any means of retreat, and, unless saved by the egregious imprudence of the French, were exposed to inevitable destruction. In the day of action, the English displayed the same presence of mind, dexterity, courage, firmness, and precaution; the French the same confusion, precipitation, and vain confidence. Henry having drawn up his small army betwixt two woods, the French derived little advantage from their immense superiority of numbers. Before the battle, the King sent David Gam, a Welch captain, to view the strength of the enemy, who reported: *There are enough to be killed, enough to be taken prisoners, and enough to run away.* The contest was rather a rout than a battle. The French archers on horseback, and their men at arms crowded in their ranks, advanced upon the English archers, who had fixed palisadoes in their front to break the impression of the enemy, and who safely plied them, from behind that defence, with showers of arrows which nothing could resist. The clay soil, moistened by some rain which had lately fallen, proved another obstacle to the force of the French cavalry. In a short time the whole mass was thrown into confusion; and the English, perceiving their advantage, fell upon them with their battle axes and hewed them to pieces, without

slew to the number of sixty thousand men. And the Lord fought for him, and the whole kingdom was given into his hands, and he appointed John Duke of Bedford the regent thereof.

And it came to pass that the doctrines of Wickliffe the preacher, who had been condemned by the church as an heretic, began now to spread over England, and prevailed much.

And the tenets he taught were these: That the bread and wine, in the sacrament of the altar, still continued to be bread and wine after the consecration of the priest; that the worship of images was idolatry, and a great sin; that pilgrimages, penances, and confessions to the priests were not at all necessary to salvation, but only a good life.

Now these were esteemed detestable doctrines, and damnable heresies.

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resistance. The King fought on foot, and performed prodigies of valour. According to Monstrelet, nearly half the English fought naked from the waist downwards, for the accommodation of a troublesome complaint, with which they had been afflicted ever since they landed at Harfleur.

And it came to pass that the doctrines of Wickliffe the preacher.] John Wickliffe was educated at Oxford, where he took his degree of doctor of divinity. He was so eminent for his parts, learning, and fine genius, that the archbishop of Canterbury, having founded a new college, made him the rector. Wickliffe's behaviour in his situation gave universal satisfaction. On the death of his patron he was removed to the living of Littleworth, in the diocese of Lincoln; and it was there that he first published in his sermons and writings his doctrines. Gregory XI. hearing of this new religion, despatched an order to the Bishop of London, to apprehend and examine Wickliffe, and send his deposition to Rome. But these orders were not easy to execute, the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl Marshall having openly declared they would not suffer Wickliffe to be imprisoned. The prelate was obliged to content himself with summoning Wickliffe before him in St. Paul's Church, where there was a vast concourse of people to hear the examination. The Duke of Lancaster and Lord Percy accompanied the reformer; assuring him that there was no danger, and that he might make his defence with courage before men, who were mere ignoramuses in comparison to him. A violent altercation took place betwixt Percy and the bishop; the former insisting that Wickliffe should sit, the latter that he should stand during the examination. The dispute became so violent, that the assembly broke up abruptly, and no further attempt was afterwards made to prosecute Wickliffe. He retired to his living at Littleworth, where he died, in the year 1384. His followers were called *Lollards*, and rapidly increased after his death.

And the tenets he taught were these.] He also denied the supremacy of the pope; and contended that the Bible alone is sufficient to direct a Christian in the conduct of his life; and that all other rules, instituted and preached in the monasteries, add no more perfection to Christianity, than *whiteness to a wall.*

And great fear came upon all priests, lest the eyes of the people should be opened, and their craft exposed: wherefore they besought the King that he would join with them in extirpating out of the land all who should teach or profess these dangerous truths.

And Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham, a man of virtue and great reputation, with Sir Robert Acton, and many others, were hanged and burnt in Smithfield for professing the same.

Thus truth was defeated, and ignorance again prevailed in the land, the priests and the levites triumphed, and the minds of the people were clothed in darkness, and fed with error.

Now the rest of the acts of King Henry, and all that he did, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of England?

And great fear came upon all priests—their craft exposed.] Yes, they were terribly afraid, and were unceasing in their applications to the King, to burn and otherwise punish the heretics They appeared to consider reason and scripture alone, without the aid of the secular power, insufficient for their defence. It was always thus: priests speak of the doctrines of Mahomet as monstrous, though, whenever an opportunity offers, they are ready to follow his practices, and force down their principles with the point of the sword. *Popery* was then the established religion, and *protestantism* the religion persecuted; protestantism triumphed, and triumphed, in part, no doubt, because she was persecuted; having attained the ascendancy, she likewise became a persecutor, and by fine and imprisonment, absurdly attempts to avail herself, in the war against reason and truth, of the very weapons which, when employed against her, she has experienced, were of no avail. In saying that protestantism has become a persecutor, we mean Church of England protestantism; this Mr. Bentham, in his excellent work on "*Church of Englandism*," has demonstrated to be an entirely new religion, wholly distinct from the doctrines of Jesus, and little more than a system of state craft, tithes, rapacity, wickedness, pomp, and vanity.

And Sir John Oldcastle, Lord Cobham.] Lord Cobham was a disciple of Wickliffe, and the first person of distinction whose blood, on account of religion, was shed in England. Henry was extremely loth to sacrifice an individual who had performed signal services to the state, both in the present and former reign. When urged by the clergy to abandon him to their barbarous zeal, he strongly remonstrated against such a sanguinary mode of conversion. He represented to these furious bigots, that reason and conviction were the best expedients for supporting truth; and that he himself would endeavour by a conversation with Cobham to reconcile him to the catholic faith. But he found that nobleman inflexible in his opinions, and determined not to sacrifice truths of such importance to his complaisance to sovereigns. He was then indicted, and sentenced to the flames for his opinions. Being confined in the Tower, he made his escape before the day appointed for his execution; and it was not till four years after, when Henry was in France, that he was brought to the stake. He was hung up by the middle with a chain, and burnt alive, amidst the curses and imprecations of the bloody priests and monks, who laboured even to prevent the people from praying for him.—*Rapin.*

Henry the Fifth.

And Henry reigned over England thirty and four years, and he died, and Henry his son reigned in his stead.

And Henry reigned over England thirty and four years.] This is an error in the divine historian; Hume, Rapin, and other profane writers say that he *lived* thirty-four years, and *reigned* over England *nine years.* He died of a fistula, which the surgeons of that day had not skill enough to cure. Finding there was no hope of recovery, he he applied fervently to his devotions, and ordered the chaplain to recite the seven penitential psalms. When that passage of the fifty-first Psalm was read, *build thou the walls of Jerusalem*, he interrupted the chaplain, and assured him, on the faith of a dying man, that after he had fully subdued France, he intended to conduct a crusade against the Infidels, and recover possession of the Holy Land. "So ingenious," says Hume, "are men in deceiving themselves, that Henry forgot in these moments all the blood spilt by his ambition; as he received comfort from this late feeble resolve, which, as the mode of these enterprises were now past, he certainly could never have carried into execution."

APPLICATION.

This prince, says the great historian, possessed many eminent virtues; and if we give indulgence to ambition in a monarch, or rank it, as the vulgar are inclined to do, among his virtues, they were unstained by any considerable blemish. His abilities appeared equally in the cabinet and the field. The boldness of his enterprises was no less remarkable than his personal valour in conducting them. He had the talent of attaching his friends by his affability, and of gaining his enemies by address and clemency. His exterior as well as his deportment was engaging. His stature was somewhat above the middle size; his limbs genteel and slender, but full of vigour; and he excelled in all warlike and manly exercises.

He left, by his queen, Catharine of France, only one son, nine months old; whose misfortunes, in the course of his life, surpassed all the glories and successes of his father. Catharine, after Henry's death, married a Welshman, named *Owen Tudor*, which gave great offence to the English and French noblesse. Tudor, it is said, was the son of a brewer, and a distant relation of the ancient kings of that country. If he wanted any thing in the nobleness of his birth, he made up by the beauty and delicacy of his person, being reckoned the handsomest man of his time. He had three sons by Catharine; one of whom, Henry VII. afterwards mounted the throne and left it to his posterity.

The ecclesiastical history of this period is principally remarkable from the severe laws enacted against the Lollards. One of them enacted, that whoever read the scriptures in *English* should forfeit lands, chattels, goods, and life, and be condemned as heretics to God, enemies to the state, and traitors to the kingdom; that they should not have the benefit of any sanctuary; and that if they continued obstinate or relapsed after pardon, they should first be hanged for treason against the king, and then burned for heresy against God.—*Ball*, fol. 46. *T. Elmsham*, p. 33.

But though the clergy had still sufficient influence to pass these savage and absurd laws, the basis of their empire had received some very rude shocks. The Commons had repeatedly urged the King to seize their immense revenues. In one address they told him, that the temporalities of all religious and spiritual persons in England, amounted to three hundred and twenty-two thousand marks, yearly, and would suffice to maintain fifteen earls, fifteen hundred knights, six thousand two hundred squires, and a hundred hospitals, and twenty thousand pounds be brought yearly into the King's treasure; and that besides the aforesaid sum, divers religious houses possessed as many temporalities as would maintain fifteen thousand priests and clerks, allowing to each seven marks a year. *Hall's Chron.* fol. 35. *Godwin's Henry* V. p. 42.

The King being in want of money to carry on the war against France, listened wil-

lingly to the representations of his faithful commons. The Clergy, perceiving the storm gathering, met to consult on the best means to avert, or at least weaken its force. After divers debates, they came to two resolutions. The first was to resign part of their riches to the King, in order to save the rest. The second, to divert the King's thoughts from domestic affairs, by persuading him to engage in some foreign war. Pursuant to these resolutions, the archbishop of Canterbury, who undertook to manage the affair, waited upon the King. He told him that the projects of the Commons, which seemed advantageous to the crown, were not so in reality; that by augmenting the number and riches of the nobility, as was intended, at the same time would be increased a power, which, ever since the foundation of the monarchy, had all along opposed the sovereigns, brought some even to destruction: that the foundations of hospitals would only tend to encourage people in idleness, when they should see so many houses ready to receive them, without being obliged to work; but that the Clergy more sincerely attached to his person than the Commons, were ready to give him a sensible proof of their zeal by delivering up the Alien Priories, amounting to 110, which would considerably increase his revenue. Whether the King was persuaded by these arguments, or he thought it more prudent to accept what was voluntarily offered, he consented to the proposal; and the Alien Priories, which had their head abbeys in France, and carried a great deal of money out of the kingdom, were surrendered into his hands.—*Rapin*, vol. iv. p. 211, and note.

Among other crimes of religion during this period, we may mention the barbarous and treacherous punishment of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, the unhappy disciples of Wickliffe, who, in violation of a safe conduct, were burnt alive for their opinions by the Council of Constance. This unprincipled transaction makes the great historian remark, that TOLERATION *is none of the virtues of priests under* ANY FORM *of ecclesiastical government.*

Among miscellaneous events, we may mention that the first commission of military array was issued during this reign. The military part of the Feudal System was entirely dissolved, and could no longer serve for the defence of the kingdom. Henry, therefore, when he went into France, in 1415, empowered certain commissioners to take, in each county, a review of all the freemen able to bear arms, to divide them into companies, and keep them in readiness for resisting the enemy. It was the era when the feudal militia gave place to a national militia, the only constitutional standing army in this country.

Of the King's revenue we have an exact account; it amounted to only £55,714 10*s.* 10*d.* a year, which is about the same as the revenue of Henry III. The ordinary expense of Government amounted to £42,507 16*s.* 10*d.*; so that the King had only a surplus of £13,206 for the support of his household, his wardrobe, the expense of embassies, and other articles. This sum was greatly deficient; and to supply his wants, he was frequently compelled to have recourse to miserable shifts; borrowing from his subjects; pawning his jewels, sometimes even the crown; running in arrears to his army; and to the unconstitutional measure of raising supplies by the right of purveyance; an odious practice, abolished by the GREAT CHARTER.

XV.—HENRY VI.

AND Henry was eight months old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England thirty and nine years, and his mother's name was Catharine.

Henry the Sixth.

And in him was fulfilled what was written of old, *Woe to that nation whose king is a child;* for he proved a weak and unfortunate prince, losing, by his misconduct, all that Henry his father had won.

And in these days there appeared a false prophetess, named Joan of Arc; and she called herself the *maid of God*, and pretended to be sent from heaven to deliver the kingdom of France from the English yoke.

And in these days there appeared a false prophetess, named Joan of Arc.] This extraordinary enthusiast lived in the village of Domremi, on the borders of Lorraine, where she was servant in a small inn, and in that station had been accustomed to tend the horses of guests, to ride them to the watering places, without saddle, and perform duties which in larger houses are generally performed by men. She was twenty-seven years of age; of an irreproachable life, and hitherto had not been remarked for any striking singularity. The siege of Orleans, the progress of the English before that place, the great distress of its brave defenders, had turned thither the public eye; and Joan, inflamed by the general sentiment, was seized with a wild desire of bringing relief to France in its present distresses. Her inexperienced mind, working day and night on this favourite object, mistook the impulses of passion for heavenly inspirations, and she fancied that she saw visions and heard voices, exhorting her to re-establish the throne of France, and to expel the invaders. An uncommon intrepidity of temper made her overlook all dangers which might attend her in such a path; and thinking herself destined by heaven to this office, she threw aside all that bashfulness and timidity natural to her sex, her years, and low station. She went to Vancouleur, procured admission to Boudricourt the governor; informed him of her inspirations and intentions, and conjured him not to neglect the voice of God, but second her in her glorious enterprise. Boudricourt treated her at first with some neglect; but on her repeated solicitations, he began to remark something extraordinary in the maid, and was at length determined to send her to the French court.

It is pretended that Joan, immediately on her admission, knew the King, though she had never seen his face before, and though he purposely kept himself in the crowd of courtiers, and laid aside every thing in his dress and apparel which might distinguish him. She offered to him in the name of the Creator, to raise the siege of Orleans, and conduct him to Rheims, there to be crowned and anointed; and on his expressing doubts of her mission, she revealed to him a secret respecting himself, which nothing apparently but inspiration could have discovered to her. As the instrument of her future victories, she demanded a particular sword, which was kept in the church of St. Catharine of Fierbois, which, though she had never seen it, she described by all its marks, and mentioned the place where it had long lain neglected. An assembly of grave doctors and theologians examined Joan's mission, and pronounced it undoubted and supernatural. She was interrogated also by the parliament of Poictiers, who came to the same enlightened conclusion.

There was now no longer any doubt of her acting under the Divine influence, and all her requests were complied with: she was clothed in man's attire; armed *cap-à-pie*, and shown in that martial habiliment before the whole people. Her dexterity in managing her steed, though acquired in her former occupation, was regarded as a proof of her mission, and she was received with the loudest acclamations by the spectators.

And she wrought miracles, and performed many wondrous things.

She raised also the siege of Orleans, and defeated the English wherever she came, insomuch that the French believed her to be conducted by the finger of God; but the English thought her sent from the devil, and the soldiers began to be terrified at her presence.

Howbeit, she was at length taken by the English at the city of Roan, in Normandy; and she was convicted of witchcraft, and they burnt her there, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, *Thou shalt not suffer a witch to live.*

Howbeit she was at length taken by the English—burnt her there.] Before her captivity, she had performed nearly all she had promised; the siege of Orleans was raised; the English almost expelled the country; the King of France brought to Rheims, where he was crowned, Joan displaying her consecrated banner, and in complete armour presiding at the ceremony. Had the history of the *Maid of Orleans*, as she was now called, here terminated, mankind would have been at a loss to account for her extraordinary exploits; but her subsequent miscarriages tended only to show that she was an unfortunate visionary, whom a heated imagination had inspired with superior energy. She had been several times wounded: on one occasion she received an arrow in her neck; she retreated for a moment, pulled out the arrow with her own hand, had her wound dressed, and then hastened back to lead her troops. At the siege of Luxembourg, where she fell into the hands of the English, she behaved with her accustomed intrepidity: twice she drove the enemy from their entrenchments; finding their numbers increase every moment, she ordered a retreat; when hard pressed by her pursuers, she turned upon them, and made them again recoil; but being deserted by her friends, she was at last surrounded and taken prisoner. The common opinion was, that the French officers, in envy of her renown, purposely exposed her to this fatal accident.

The English made a barbarous and most unjustifiable use of their capture. Instead of being treated as a prisoner of war, she was consigned into the hands of the ecclesiastics, who accused her of sorcery, idolatry, impiety, magic, and other unintelligible crimes. Loaded with irons, and clothed in her military apparel, she was introduced before her merciless prosecutors. At first she behaved with great firmness; but brow-beaten and over-awed by men clothed with the ensigns of a sacred character, which she had once been accustomed to revere, her spirit was at last subdued; and those visionary dreams of inspiration gave way to the terror of that punishment with which she was threatened. She publicly declared herself ready to recant; acknowledged the illusion of her imaginary revelations, and promised never more to maintain them. Her sentence was then mitigated: she was sentenced to perpetual imprisonment, and to be fed during life on bread and water.

This, however, was not enough to satisfy the barbarous vengeance of her holy prosecutors. Suspecting that the female dress she had consented to wear was not agreeable to her, they placed a suit of man's apparel in her apartment, and watched the effect of that temptation. On the sight of the dress in which she had acquired so much renown, all her former ideas and passions revived, and she ventured to clothe herself in the forbidden garment. Her insidious enemies caught her in that situation. Her fault

Edward the Third.

In this reign began the cruel war betwixt the two houses of York and Lancaster, where brother fought with brother, the father against his son, and the son against his father, till the rivers flowed with the blood thereof, and rage and slaughter made desolate the land.

At length Edward Plantagenet, duke of York, having overthrown the king in many battles, and taken him prisoner, deposed him from the government, and was crowned king of England.

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was interpreted to be no less than a relapse into heresy: no recantation would suffice, and no pardon could be granted her. She was condemned to be burnt in the market place at Rouen, and the infamous sentence carried into execution. Such is a brief history of the celebrated *Maid of Orleans*. The more generous superstition of the ancients would have erected altars to her memory, while Christian bigots, under the senseless charge of heresy and magic, consigned the heroine to the flames.

In this reign began the cruel war—York and Lancaster.] This furious civil contest lasted thirty years; was signalized by twelve pitched battles; is computed to have cost the lives of eighty princes of the blood, and almost entirely annihilated the ancient nobility. It arose from the rival claims to the throne of the two houses of York and Lancaster. The Duke of York was descended from a second son of Edward III.: whereas the King derived his descent from the Duke of Lancaster, the third son of that monarch. The superior claim therefore of the Duke of York was indisputable. His pretensions were supported by many of the principal nobility, and the renowned Earl of Warwick, surnamed the *King-maker*, from the share he took in the events of this bloody period. This nobleman was himself a host. Distinguished by his gallantry in the field, by the magnificence and hospitality of his table, and by the bold and spirited manner which attended him in all his actions, he possessed immense influence. No less than 30,000 persons are said to have daily lived at his board, in the different manors and castles he possessed in various parts of England. Military men, allured by his magnificence and hospitality, as well as by his bravery, were zealously attached to his interest. The people in general bore him an unlimited affection. His numerous retainers were more devoted to his will than the prince or the law: and Hume observes, that he was the greatest, as well as the last, of those mighty barons, who formerly overawed the crown, and rendered the people incapable of any regular system of civil government.

At length Edward Plantagenet—was crowned.] Henry VI. was thirty-nine years and a quarter old when he was dispossessed of a crown, which he had worn almost from his birth. During all this time he never interfered with the administration of public affairs; but left them entirely to be managed by his queen and ministers. His great defect was an extreme imbecility of understanding, which wholly disqualified him for the government of the kingdom. As to his private character, he had a great abhorrence of injustice and cruelty, and like George III. was chaste, temperate, and extremely religious. The reign of both these monarchs was most unfortunate to the people, not so much from any positive wickedness in the individuals, as from an absence of those great qualities necessary to promote the happiness of their kingdom. Speaking of Henry, Rapin says, his virtues would have made him an accomplished prince had they been attended with the qualifications of a sovereign. But being alone, they served only to make him an honest man, and withal a very indifferent king, not to say worse.—Vol. iv. p 507.

APPLICATION.

The most important law in this reign relates to the election of members of parliament. After the destruction of the feudal system, every householder paying scot and lot was admitted to give his vote at elections. This was confirmed by stat. of Hen. IV. c. 15. But in the ninth and tenth of this reign, the elective franchise was limited to such as possessed 40*s. a year* in land, free from all burden, within the county. This sum was equivalent to twenty pounds present money. The reason for disfranchising such a large body of electors, is thus stated in the preamble to the statute. "Whereas the elections of knights have of late, in many counties of England, been made by outrages and excessive numbers of people, many of them of *small substance and value*, yet pretending to a right equal to the best knights and esquires, whereby manslaughter, riots, batteries and divisons among the gentlemen and other people of the same county shall very likely rise and be, unless due remedy be provided in this behalf," &c.

From the expression "*small substance and value*," we may infer that the possession of property to some amount was necessary under the law of Henry IV. But for a more particular discussion of this subject, and also the 8th Henry VI. we must refer the reader to a valuable note in Mr. BENTHAM's *Plan of Parliamentary Reform*, p. lxxxiv. We may learn, however, from the preamble, that the election of a member of parliament had now become a matter of great importance and interest; and that that body was beginning to acquire great authority. Indeed, at the commencement of this reign, the lords and commons had not only by their own authority, contrary to the will of Henry V. altered the name, but the constitution of the regency, which that prince had appointed.

Among the remarkable events of this period we have picked out the following. In the first parliament of this reign, the queen-mother came and sat among the lords, with the young king in her lap. Stowe says, the art of printing being found out at Mentz, in Germany, by John Guttenbergen, was brought into England by William Caxton, of London, mercer, who first practised this noble invention in the abbey of Westminster, in 1471. Permission was given by parliament to export corn when at a low price; wheat at 6s. 8d. a quarter, and barley at 3s. 4d, money of that age. The first instance of debt contracted on parliamentrary security occurs in this reign; a pernicious expedient, that, in after times enabled the *Boroughmongers* to wage a twenty-five years' war against liberty and knowledge, and to ruin England. In the year 1446, Sir Simon Eyre, mayor of London, built Leadenhall, to be a common garner for the city. In 1453, Sir John Norman, mayor of London, went by water to Westminster to take his oath: being the first that went in that manner: before that time the mayor rode on horseback.

This reign was also signalized by the insurrection of *Jack Cade*, one of the "*Lower Orders*" of that day. More than 20,000 persons flocked to his standard; after committing a few excesses, a price was set upon Jack's head, and he was slain by one of the "*respectables*" of that day, and the commotion subsided.

XVI.—EDWARD IV.

AND Edward was nineteen years old when he came to the crown, and he was tall and well favoured, and of an exceeding graceful presence.

Moreover he was a prince of great courage and wisdom, and he set himself to enact good laws, and to reform the abuses in his government.

And he sate in the court of justice three days himself, that he might be a witness how his laws were executed.

And many more good qualities had Edward; howbeit he lusted after women exceedingly, and he was a gallant prince, and young and handsome to look on, wherefore the hearts of the ladies were in his hand.

And it came to pass that Matthew Shore, a goldsmith in London, had taken to wife the most beautiful virgin in all the city.

Moreover he was a prince of great courage.] He was well fitted for the scene of war, havoc, and devastation in which he lived. Hume says he was bold, active, enterprising; and his hardness of heart and severity of character, rendered him impregnable to all those movements of compassion which might relax his vigour in the prosecution of the most bloody revenge upon his enemies. The contest between the two houses of York and Lancaster still continued; and during the sanguinary period, the scaffold as well as the field, incessantly streamed with the noblest blood of England. In the different countries of Europe, this memorable civil war was known by the name of the quarrel between the two roses; the partizans of the house of Lancaster having chosen the *red rose* as their mark of distinction, those of York the *white rose*.

And many more good qualities had Edward.] Aye, and bad ones too. He was wholly insensible to pity. After the fatal battle of Tewkesbury, where queen Margaret and her son were taken prisoners, the young prince was brought before Edward, who in an insulting manner asked him, how he dared to invade his dominions; the young prince replied, that, he came hither to claim his just inheritance. The barbarian king, insensible to generosity, struck him with his gauntlet, and the dukes of Clarence and Gloucester, and lord Hastings, taking this as a signal for further violence, hurried the prince into the next apartment, and despatched him with their daggers. On another occasion, a tradesman in London, who kept a shop at the sign of the *crown*, having said that he would make his son heir to the *crown*, the harmless pleasantry was interpreted to be spoken in derision of Edward's title, and he was condemned and executed.

And it came to pass that Matthew Shore.] Jane Shore, who forms the interesting subject of Rowe's popular tragedy, was born of respectable parents in London; but unfortunately, views of interest, more than the maid's inclinations, had been consulted in her marriage; and her mind, though framed for virtue, was unable to resist the allurements of the gay and amorous Edward. But though seduced from her duty, she still made herself respectable by her other virtues; and the ascendant which her charms and vivacity enabled her long to maintain over the king was employed in acts of beneficence and endeavours to soften the natural ferocity of his character.

After the death of Edward, she experienced a great reverse of fortune. She first became the mistress of lord Hastings; and owing to her connexion with that nobleman, during the protectorship of the duke of Gloucester, she was accused of sorcery and witchcraft, and of having, in conjunction with Hastings, attempted by her incantations to destroy the life of that bloody tyrant. This charge was too ridiculous even for that

And the fame of her beauty reached the ears of the king, and he disguised himself as a merchant, and went to the house of Shore pretending to buy jewels.

And when he saw how exceeding fair she was, even beyond what fame had reported unto him, his heart was smitten with love, and he burned to enjoy her.

Wherefore he discovered himself, and took her home to his bed, and she lived in adultery with him all the days of his life.

In his reign was born Thomas Parr, of the county of Salop, who lived during the reign of ten kings, even to the days of king Charles I. when he died, being an hundred fifty and two years old.

Moreover he did penance for the sin of fornication at the age of an hundred years.

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age; besides which the protector adduced nothing in its support except his shrivelled arm, an infirmity it was notorious he had borne from his birth. He was resolved, however, on her punishment. He next accused her of lewdness, of having been guilty of leaving her husband and living with other men; this charge could not be denied, accordingly she was sentenced to do penance on the Sunday following in St. Paul's church in a white sheet, with a wax taper in her hand, before all the people. The ceremony is thus described by a contemporay writer: "She was brought clothed in a white sheet by way of procession, with the cross carried before her, and a wax taper in her hand to St Paul's church, from the bishop's palace adjoining. In all this action she behaved with so much modesty and decency, that such as respected her beauty more than her fault, never were in greater admiration of her than now."

After doing penance, this unfortunate woman was entirely abandoned, and languished out the remainder of her days in solitude and indigence. No one among the great multitude she had obliged, had the humanity to bring her consolation or relief, and in her old age she experienced all the evils of poverty and shame, and the ingratitude of those courtiers, who during her prosperity had anxiously solicited her friendship and been supported by her bounty. She was seen by Sir Thomas More so late as the reign of Henry VIII, poor, decrepid, and shrivelled, without the least trace of that beauty which once commanded the admiration of the court. It is said she perished from hunger in a ditch, now called after her *Shoreditch*.

In his reign was born Thomas Parr.] In the year 1635, Parr, as a rarity, was brought to London by lord Arundel, and introduced to Charles I.; but the change of situation and his altered mode of life, particularly drinking wine, soon proved fatal to a constitution supported by more temperate and abstemious habits, and he died the same year. He had been brought up to husbandry.

Moreover he did penance at the age of one hundred years.] What an old reprobate! This monstrous fact at first, appeared to us wholly incredible, though we remembered that Sarah, the wife of Abraham, after being in the society of angels, conceived and bore a son at the age of one hundred years. All doubt, however, on the subject was removed, by referring to *Lempriere's Universal Biography*. It is there stated, that Parr

Edward the Fifth.

And Edward reigned twenty and three years, and he died, and was buried in his own tomb at Windsor, and Edward his son reigned in his stead.

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actually performed penance in his parish church at the age of 100 years for a bastard child, and at the age of 120 married a second wife, who had a child!

And Edward reigned twenty and three years and he died.] In the forty second year of his age. When he found death approaching, he discovered the vanity of all human projects, and the wickedness of many of his past actions; for which, after the manner of his predecessors, he showed marks of a sincere repentance.

APPLICATION.

Of the character of this prince, HUME says, he was more splendid and showy than either prudent or virtuous, brave though cruel; addicted to pleasure though capable of activity in great emergencies; and less fitted to prevent evils by wise precautions than to remedy them after they took place by his vigour and enterprise. In his person he was one of the handsomest men in England and perhaps in Europe; his noble mien, his free and easy air, his affable carriage, prepossessed every one in his favour. These qualities, joined to an undaunted courage, rendered him extremely popular, especially with the ladies, to whom it is said, in one instance, he was indebted for his restoration. He had, however, many vices. He was false, cruel, and extremely incontinent His whole life according to Rapin, was one continued scene of lust. He had many mistresses, but especially three, of whom he said, "*One was the merriest,* the other the wittiest, and the third the holiest in the world, for she was always in a church but when he sent for her.*" He had but two natural children, though he left a numerous issue by his queen.

* Jane Shore.

XVII.—EDWARD V.

AND Edward was eleven years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England nine weeks and three days, and was murdered in the tower by his uncle Richard, the crooked duke of Gloucester.

And Edward was eleven years old—murdered in the Tower.] He was murdered along with his brother, the duke of York. The duke of Gloucester, who afterwards usurped the throne, sent an express to Brackenbury, governor of the Tower, to murder the princes. Brackenbury, having a little more conscience than his master, returned a very submissive answer, but withal told him he should not be able to execute his commands. The protector, enraged to be deceived in his opinion of that officer, sent

him, by *James Tyrrel*, a written order to deliver the keys and government of the Tower into the hands of the bearer for one night. Brackenbury obeyed, and Tyrrel introduced two assassins to execute the protector's orders. While all were asleep, they went into the room where the princes slept, and smothering them in their bed, caused them to be buried under a little staircase. This is what Tyrrel, who was executed in the reign of Henry VII. afterwards confessed. In 1674, while some alterations were making in that part of the Tower, some bones were found in a wooden chest, supposed to be those of the murdered princes. They were put in a marble urn, and by the order of Charles II. removed to Westminster-Abbey.

XVIII.—RICHARD III.

And Richard took on him the government of the kingdom, and set the crown upon his own head.

And in order to clear his way to the throne, and secure to himself the possession thereof, he murder'd all who stood in his way.

And Richard—set the crown upon his own head.] After the death of Edward IV. he spread a report that his issue, prince Edward and the duke of York, were illegitimate. The two principal tools he employed for the accomplishment of his treasonable projects, were the duke of Buckingham and Dr. Shaw, the latter a famous preacher in those days. Having spread a rumour of the illegitimacy of the young princes, it was agreed the doctor, whose eloquence was applauded by the whole city, should support it with a sermon. For this purpose the doctor mounted the pulpit one Sunday morning at Paul's cross, and preached upon these words,—*Bastard slips shall not thrive.* He began with showing the blessings God usually bestowed on the fruits of the marriage bed; and expatiated largely on those topics which could discredit the issue of the late king. He then broke out into a panegyric on the noble qualities of the duke of Gloucester; exclaiming, "Behold this excellent prince, the express image of his noble father, the genuine descendant of the house of York; bearing no less in the virtues of his mind than in the features of his countenance, the character of the gallant Richard once your hero and favourite." It was previously concerted that as the doctor pronounced these words, the duke of Gloucester should enter the church, when it was expected the audience would cry out, *God save king Richard,* which would immediately have been laid hold of as a popular consent and interpreted to be the voice of the nation. But by a ludicrous mistake, the duke did not appear till the exclamation was already recited by the preacher. The doctor therefore was obliged to repeat his rhetorical figure out of its place. The audience, less from the absurd conduct of the discourse, than their detestation of the hypocrisy of these proceedings kept a profound silence, and the protector and the parson were equally abashed at the ill success of their contrivance.

A new expedient was afterwards tried to work on the people. The mayor of London who was brother to Dr. Shaw, and entirely in the protector's interests, called an assembly of the citizens, where the duke of Buckingham harangued them on the

Wherefore the anger of the Lord was kindled against him, and he smote him by the hand of Henry earl of Richmond, of the house of York, and he died in the field of battle, even Bosworth field.

Thus ended the war betwixt the two houses of York and Lancaster, after twelve pitched battles had been fought, in which there were slain two kings, one prince, ten dukes, two marquisses, twenty-one earls, twenty-seven lords, two viscounts, one lord-prior, one judge, one hundred and thirty-three knights, four hundred and forty-one esquires, and eighty-four thousand nine hundred ninety and eight private soldiers.

And they took the crown from the head of king Richard, and put it on the head of Henry earl of Richmond; and all the army shouted for joy, and they cried out, *Long live king Henry the Seventh.*

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protector's pretended title and virtues. He next asked them whether they would have the duke for king, and then stopped in expectation of hearing the cry, *God save king Richard!* Observing them silent, the duke asked the mayor the reason. The mayor replied, perhaps they did not understand him. Buckingham repeated his discourse, but the same sullen silence still continued. *I now see the cause*, said the mayor, *the citizens are not accustomed to be haranguèd by any person but their recorder; and know not how to answer a person of your grace's quality.* The recorder then repeated the substance of the duke's speech. But the audience continued as silent as ever. *This is wonderful obstinacy*, cried the duke. *Express your meaning my friends, one way or the other. When we apply to you on this occasion, it is merely from the regard we bear to you. The lords and commons have sufficient authority without your consent to appoint a king. But I require you here to declare in plain terms, whether or not you will have the duke of Gloucester for your sovereign.* After all these efforts, some of the meanest apprentices, excited by the protector's and Buckingham's servants, raised the feeble cry, *God save king Richard!* With this feeble semblance of popular favour Richard mounted the throne.

Wherefore the anger of the Lord was kindled—even Bosworth field.] The battle was fought about three miles from Bosworth, a ancient market town in Leicestershire. The exact spot of ground is frequently more and more discovered by pieces of armour, weapons, and especially abundance of arrows' heads found there of a long and large proportion. There is a little mount cast up, on which Henry VII. is said to have made his speech to his soldiers.—*Camden in Leicest.*

And they took the crown from the head of king Richard.] His crown was found after the battle in the field, by a soldier, who brought it to lord Stanley, who immediately placed it on the earl of Richmond's head, congratulating him upon his victory, and saluting him king. From that time Henry assumed the regal title, and acted as sovereign, as if that ceremony was alone sufficient to establish his right to the crown. *Te Deum* was sung on Bosworth field, the whole army on their knees, to return God thanks for the blood they had spilt.

And the body of Richard was found in the field of battle, and they laid it on a horse, and brought it to the city of Leicester, and it was buried there, and Henry of Richmond reigned in his stead.

And the body of Richard was found in the field of battle.] It was found naked, covered with blood and dirt, and in that condition thrown across a horse, with the head hanging on one side, and the legs on the other, and so carried to Leicester. The body lay two whole days exposed to public view, after which it was interred, without any ceremony, in one of the churches of that city. Some time after it was removed and buried in St Mary's church, belonging to a monastery of the grey friars. Henry VII. his rival and successor put over him a tomb of various coloured marble, adorned with his statue in alabaster. This monument stood till the dissolution of the abbeys under Henry VIII. when it was pulled down, and utterly defaced; since then, his grave being overgrown with weeds and nettles, no trace of it can be found, except his stone coffin, which was made a drinking trough on at the White horse-inn, in Leicester.

APPLICATION.

Such was the end of the crooked duke of Gloucester; of whose murders, amours, and visions, Shakspeare has drawn such a terrific picture. Richard was the last of the Plantagenets, a family which had inherited the throne for the space of three hundred years. After his death the two houses of York and Lancaster were united by the marriage of the earl of Richmond. The person and character of Richard have been so often represented on the stage, that to describe them were unnecessary. Some historians have attempted to extenuate the crimes of the duke of Gloucester They maintain that he was well qualified for sovereignty, had he *legally* obtained it, and that he committed no crimes but such as were necessary to secure him the crown. But this, as observed by Hume, is a poor apology, when it is admitted that he was ready to commit the most horrible crimes for the attainment of his object; and his courage and capacity were but a poor compensation to society for the dangerous precedent of vice and murder exalted to the throne. He only reigned about two years, and was in the thirty-fourth year of his age when slain: the better to delude the people, he always affected a very sanctified deportment; and on one occasion issued a severe proclamation for the punishment of vice and profaneness.

XIX.—HENRY VII.

Now Henry was a wise and politic prince, and he set himself, by all manner of ways, to secure the throne to himself and his successors for ever.

And he extorted from his subjects great sums of money.] His avarice was insatiable. At one time he had no less than £1,800,000 in his coffers; an almost incredible sum.

Henry the Seventh.

And he extorted from his subjects great sums of money, and filled his coffers, and the whole study of his life was to heap up riches.

To this end he made use of two men, and the name of the one was Empson, and the name of the other was Dudley.

And he gave them power and authority to plunder and oppress his subjects; and they exercised all manner of injustice upon them, accusing the innocent of crimes, and amercing and fining them in great sums without trial, converting law and justice into rapine and cruelty.

Now whether it were out of an affectation of state and grandeur, or peradventure that he feared some sudden attempt upon his person, (for he was not beloved of the people) he appointed a band of tall men to attend him, called the yeomen of the guard, which all the kings of England since have kept unto this day.

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if the scarcity of money in those times is considered. Silver in this reign was at 37 shillings and sixpence in the pound, which makes the King's treasure amount to near three millions To this we must add, that commodities generally were only about one-fourth the present price.

To this end he made use of two men.—Empson—Dudley.] The first of these rascally lawyers was a man of mean birth, brutal manners, and unrelenting temper. The second, better born, better bred, but equally rapacious, severe, and inflexible It was under the form of law, with which they were both well acquainted, that these miscreants chiefly laboured to oppress the people. Their mode of proceeding bore some analogy to modern *ex-officio* and *Excise Informations.* Their usual practice was to give indictments to those whom they intended to oppress. Upon which the persons were committed to prison, but never brought to trial; and to recover their liberty were obliged to pay heavy fines called mitigations and compositions! By degrees, even the appearance of law was neglected. They sent forth their precepts to bring men before them at their private chambers, where in a summary manner, without trial or jury, arbitrary decrees were issued, both in pleas of the crown and controversies between private parties. Juries afforded small protection against these oppressors, being brow-beaten, fined, and sometimes imprisoned if they gave sentence contrary to the inclination of these *righteous* judges: spies, informers, and inquisitors were rewarded and encouraged in every part of the kingdom. The penal statutes were rigorously enforced; and no difference was made whether the statutes were beneficial or hurtful, recent or obsolete, possible or impossible to be executed. The sole end of the King and his vile ministers was to amass money, and bring every one under the lash of their authority.—*See Hume*, vol. iii. p. 388. *Rapin*, vol. v. p. 358.

Now whether it were out of an affectation—a band of tall men.] At first this guard consisted of 50 archers; subsequently it was increased to 100, besides 6 yeomen hangers and 2 bed-goers. Eight of the yeomen are termed ushers, and have each £10 a year more than the other. The earl of Macclesfield is now captain; salary, £1000.

And in his reign there arose two impostors one after the other, laying claim to the crown of England.

And the name of the one was Simnel, a baker's son; and the name of the other was Perkin Warbeck; each pretending to be Richard duke of York, brother to king Edward the fifth.

And the name of one was Simnel—the other was Perkin Warbeck.] Two very extraordinary impostures indeed. A priest named Simon, who lived at Oxford, was the contriver of Simnel's enterprise. He was a subtle enterprising man, and formed the design of disturbing Henry's government by raising a pretender to the throne. A report was spread that the young earl of Warwick had escaped from the Tower. Simnel was instructed by Simon to personate that prince. His first debut was in Ireland; Simon considering that place most favourable for the commencement of his enterprise. Simnel was well qualified for his undertaking. He threw himself at the feet of the earl of Kildare, the deputy, and claimed his protection as the unfortunate Warwick. The credulous Irishman, not suspecting so bold an imposture, gave attention to him, and after consulting some of his friends, as weak as himself, it was determined to receive Simnel as a genuine Plantagenet. He was lodged in the castle of Dublin, a diadem taken from a statue of the Virgin was placed on his head, and he was publicly proclaimed King by the appellation of Edward VI. All Ireland revolted to the baker, and not a sword was drawn in Henry's quarrel.

These were days of enthusiasm, when men were susceptible of sudden and ardent attachments. Simnel having mustered an army of his Irish friends, he determined to invade England. He landed at Foudrey, in Lancashire; continuing his march he met the King at Stoke, in Nottingham, where an obstinate battle was fought. Simnel, as well as his tutor, Simon, was taken prisoner. Simon being a priest was not tried at law, and only committed to close custody. Simnel was too contemptible to be an object of either apprehension or resentment to Henry. He was pardoned, and made a scullion in the King's kitchen, whence he was advanced to the rank of falconer.

Having conducted Simnel to his destination in the kitchen, let us now follow the other impostor to Tyburn.

Perkin Warbec was a more troublesome competitor than Simnel the baker. He was the son of a renegado Jew of Tournay, who had resided some time in London, in the reign of Edward IV. Having had opportunities of being known to the King, he persuaded that monarch to stand godfather to his son, to whom he gave the name of Peter, corrupted after the Flemish manner into Peterkin, or Perkin. By some it was believed, that Edward, among his amorous adventures, had a secret connection with the Jew's wife; and people thence accounted for that resemblance which was afterwards remarked betwixt young Perkin and that monarch. Some years after the birth of this child, the Jew returned to Tournay, where Perkin, his son, did not long remain, but by different accidents was carried from place to place, so that his real birth and fortune were difficult to trace. The variety of his adventures favoured the natural sagacity of his genius, and he seemed a youth fitted to act any part or assume any character. In this light he was represented to the duchess of Burgundy, who found him to exceed her most sanguine expectations: handsome in his person, graceful in his air, courtly in his address, and full of docility and good sense in his behaviour and conversation.

Thus patronized, he was instructed to personate Richard, duke of York. Ireland was again fixed on for the debut of this second impostor. He landed at Cork, and, immediately assuming the name of Richard Plantagenet, drew to him numerous followers. He dispersed every where the strange intelligence of his escape from his uncle the duke of Gloucester, and soon became the general object of favour and conversation.

Howbeit the first was quickly suppressed, and after having been crowned king in Dublin, had the honour to be made king Henry's turnspit.

As to the other, after many honours done him in the courts of France, Spain, and Scotland, as a prince of the royal blood, he was at last advanced to the *pinnacle of Tyburn.*

And in these days a strange disease arose, and was called the sweating sickness; and it continued for the space of a month, and swept away great numbers.

But woe unto you whoremongers, adulterers, and fornicators, and woe unto you harlots and street-walkers, that lie in wait for prey, and spread your nets in every corner; for a disease hath stricken ye through the reins, and the heat of your lusts shall burn ye up.

Now the rest of the acts of king Henry, and the magnificent chapel that he built, are they not written in the book of Bacon the historian?

His first attempt was upon the coast of Kent; being here repulsed, and many of his followers taken prisoners, he retired to Scotland. Supported by the Scots he invaded England, having first dispersed a manifesto, setting forth his pretensions, and calling upon his loving subjects to expel the usurper, whose oppressions and rapacity rendered him justly odious to all men. The license and disorder of the Scots struck terror into the English; and Perkin, to support his pretensions to royal birth, feigned great compassion for his plundered subjects, and remonstrated with his august ally against the excesses of the Scottish army.

To bring, however, the adventures of Perkin to a conclusion. After experiencing a variety of fortune, he was at length taken prisoner, and conducted in mock triumph through London. His life was granted him, but impatient of confinement, he broke from his keeper, and flying to the sanctuary of Steyne, put himself into the hands of the prior of that monastery. The prior again prevailed upon the King to pardon this restless adventurer. But in order to reduce him to greater contempt, he was set in the stocks at Westminster and Cheapside, and compelled to read aloud to the people a real account of his origin and history. He was then confined in the Tower, but the same restless spirit accompanying him, he was detected in new plots and intrigues. Having by this new attempt rendered himself unworthy of mercy, he was arraigned, condemned, and soon after "*advanced to the pinnacle of Tyburn.*"

The great success of Simnel and Perkin, encouraged a shoe-maker to set up as a slip of royalty. But this youth does not appear to have had much success. Some historians with more ingenuity than wisdom, have attempted to prove that Perkin was a real Plantagenet, and not an impostor.

And in these days a strange disease arose—sweating sickness.] No account is given by historians of the cause of this singular malady. The patient generally used to die or recover in the space of twenty-four hours. This distemper returned again in 1507.

But woe unto you whoremongers—a disease.] It is conjectured our author alludes to the pox, which was first known in this reign.

Now the rest of the acts—the magnificent chapel.] Henry the Seventh's chapel, situated on the eastern extremity of Westminster Abbey, and opening into it, is considered one

And Henry reigned over England twenty and three years, and eight months, and he died, and Henry his son reigned in his stead.

of the finest pieces of gothic architecture in the world. On its scite formerly stood a chapel dedicated to the Virgin Mary; also a tavern distinguished by the sign of the *White Rose*. Henry, resolving to erect a superb mausoleum for himself and family, pulled down the old chapel and the tavern; and on the 11th of February, 1503, the first stone of the present edifice was laid by Abbot Islip, at the command of the King. It cost £14,000, a prodigious sum for that period, and still more so considering the avaricious temper of the King. An altar tomb erected by Henry at a cost of £1000 to receive his last remains, stands in the centre of the chapel.

And Henry reigned over England—and he died] Before his death he repented of the abuse of his authority by Empson and Dudley, but not sufficiently to prevent him again fining Sir William Capel two thousand pounds, and committing him to the Tower for daring to murmur at the iniquity of his sentence. Several others were fined at the same time; the King countenancing all these oppressions; till death, by its nearer approaches, impressed him with new terrors; and he then ordered, by a general clause in his will, that restitution should be made to all those whom he had injured. He died of a consumption, at his favourite palace of Richmond; where he kept under his own eye, all the ill-gotten wealth he had wrung from his subjects.

Application.

The reign of Henry VII. was in the main fortunate for the people at home, and honourable abroad. He put an end to the civil wars, which had long harassed the nation, maintained peace and order in the state, and depressed the exorbitant power of the nobility. He was brave and extremely attentive to his affairs; and though often severe in his punishments, he was commonly less actuated by revenge than by maxims of policy. Avarice was his ruling passion, and he remains a singular instance of a man possessed of talents for great affairs, in which that ignoble passion predominated above ambition.

In this reign it will be proper to notice various important changes in the laws, and the general condition of society. The most important law was that, by which the nobility and gentry acquired the right of breaking the ancient entails, and alienating their estates: by means of this law, the great estates of the barons were gradually dismembered, and the property of the commons increased. Probably this result was foreseen by Henry: his constant policy, through the whole of his reign, being to depress the great, and exalt the clergy, lawyers, and men of new families, who were most likely to be dependent upon him.

Suits in *forma pauperis* were first given to the poor in this reign; that is, the poor were allowed to sue without paying dues for the writ, or fees to clerk, counsel, and attorneys: the practice is still in force. Any person who has just cause of suit, and takes oath that he is not worth five pounds, after all his debts are paid, may, if he can obtain a certificate from some *lawyer*, that he has good ground of action, have his suit in *forma pauperis*.

Scarcely a session passed without some statute against engaging retainers and giving them badges or liveries; a practice by which they were in a manner enlisted under some great lord, and kept ready to assist him in all wars, riots, and insurrections. This disorder had prevailed during many ages, and it required all the rigour and vigilence of Henry to extirpate. A story is told of his severity against this abuse, and which also shows his avarice, which suffered no opportunity to escape for filling his

coffers. The earl of Oxford, his favourite general, having splendidly entertained him at his castle of Henningham, was desirous of making a parade of his magnificence at the king's departure; and ordered all his retainers to be drawn up in two lines, that their appearance might be the more gallant and splendid. *My lord*, said the king, *I have heard much of your hospitality; but the truth far exceeds the report. These handsome gentlemen and servants whom I see on both sides of me are no doubt your menial servants.* The earl smiled, and confessed that his fortune was too narrow for such magnificence. *They are most of them*, subjoined he, *my retainers, who are come to do me service at this time, when they know I am honoured with your majesty's presence.* The King started a little, and said, *By my faith, my lord, I thank you for your good cheer, but I must not allow my laws to be broken in my sight.* Oxford is said, to have paid no less than 15 thousand marks as a composition for his offence.

Mr. Hume, in the notes to his history of this reign, has inserted an extract from the household book of an old earl of Northumberland, who lived at this time: it is a curious picture of ancient manners, and affords a complete insight into the domestic economy of the ancient barons. The family consists of 166 persons, masters and servants; 57 strangers are reckoned upon every day; in the whole 223 persons Twopence halfpenny are supposed to be the daily expense of each, for meat, drink, and firing; this would make a groat of our present money. The sum allotted by the earl for his whole annual expense is £1118 17s 8d.; meat, drink, and firing cost £796 11s. 2d. more than two thirds of the whole.

Every thing is conducted with extreme order; insomuch that the number of pieces which must be cut out of every quarter of beef, mutton, pork, nay even stock-fish and salmon, is determined, and must be entered and accounted for by the different clerks appointed for that purpose. If a servant be absent a day his mess is struck off. If he go on my lord's business, board wages are allowed him, 8d. a day for his journey in winter, 5d. in summer. Two hundred and fifty quarters of malt are allowed a month, at 4s. a quarter. Two hogsheads are to be made of a quarter; which amounts to a bottle and third of beer a day to each person, and the beer not be very strong. The family only eat fresh meat from Midsummer to Michaelmas; all the rest of the year they live on salted meat. One hundred and sixty gallons of mustard are allowed in a year, which seems a necessary qualification for their salt beef.

Only seventy ells of linen, at 8d. an ell, are annually allowed for the whole family: no sheets were used. The linen was made into eight table cloths for my lord's table, and one table cloth for the knights; the last probably washed only once a month, or longer. Only 40s. are allowed for washing throughout the year, and that is principally expended on the linen in the chapel. Only ninety-one dozen of candles for the whole year. The family rose at six in the morning, dined at ten, and supped at four in the afternoon. The gates were all shut at nine, and no farther ingress or egress permitted. My lord and lady have set on their table at breakfast a quart of beer; as much wine; two pieces of salt fish, six red herrings, four white ones or a dish of sprats. In flesh days, half a chine of mutton, or a chine of beef boiled. Mass is ordered to be said at six in the morning, in order, says the household book, that all my lord's servants may rise early.

After this picture of ancient manners we will only mention one or two more facts, and conclude our remarks on this period. The wages of labour, as well as the prices of many other things, as cloth caps, and hats, were fixed by law.

It was during this reign, on the second of August, 1492, that Christopher Columbus set out on his memorable voyage for the discovery of America; and a few years after, Vasquez de Gama, passed the Cape of Good Hope, and opened a new passage to the East Indies. About this time the noble and invaluable art of printing was discovered. In short we may consider that an entirely new era of civilization and science commenced in this reign.

XX.—HENRY VIII.

And Henry was eighteen years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England thirty and eight years, and his mother's name was Elizabeth.

And he gat the love of his subjects in the beginning of his reign by causing to be executed as traitors and oppressors, those wicked instruments of his father, Empson and Dudley.

Moreover he won favour in their eyes, by spending among them in balls and shows, and sumptuous feasts, those immense treasures which had been drained from them, and hoarded up in the coffers of his father.

And in these days the iniquity of the popedom was arrived at its full height, insomuch that indulgences for all manner of crimes were

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And he gat the love of his subjects.—Empson and Dudley.] Empson made a very shrewd defence of his own and associate's iniquities. When summoned before the council, he said, that the accusation was of a very new and strange nature; that usually men were prosecuted for acting against the laws or disobeying their sovereign; but for their part, they were accused by the people of executing the laws, of which, they themselves were the authors: that on the other hand the king called them to account for obeying his father's express orders,—unheard-of crime! the punishment whereof would be apt to throw all his subjects into rebellion.—*Rapin*, vol. vi. p. 7.

Legally these oppressors could not be deemed criminal. It does not appear their proceedings were contrary to law, but that they rendered obsolete statutes, which ought to have been repealed, subservient to acts of extortion and rapacity. This, though it manifested sufficiently the wickedness of their disposition, was in itself no crime. Even now, the statute book, as in cases of libel, sedition, blasphemy, larceny, and other offences, remains obnoxious to the same abuse, and wicked judges might easily find authorities for the most arbitrary proceedings, were they not restrained by the watchfulness of public opinion, and an enlightened jury.

Moreover he won favour in their eyes.] He possessed almost every quality to captivate popular favour. He was young and handsome, expert in all manly exercises, with a lively air and appearance of spirit and activity in all his demeanor. His proficiency in literature was very considerable: he was well versed in the French and Latin languages; he was perfectly skilled in music, sung often in his own chapel, and composed two entire masses himself. He had explored the utmost depth of the Aristotelian philosophy, the only philosophy in vogue in those days. In a knowledge of divinity he rivalled the pope, and was deeply read in Thomas Aquinas's famous book on the miraculous conception of the Virgin Mary.

And in these days the iniquity of the popedom.] The corruptions of the Romish church had now attained an enormous pitch. Several of the holy fathers were accused

publicly sold for money; and all kinds of people, how vile and profligate soever, were promised everlasting happiness on purchasing them.

Now the impiety of these things provoked the indignation of Martin Luther, and he exposed the absurdity of them in many books. Moreover, he censured the usurpation of the pope, and made a mock of his authority.

Then Henry the king, in the zeal of his heart, wrote an answer to Martin Luther, defending the pope; and from henceforth he and his successors are honoured with the title of *Defender of the Faith.*

Howbeit he afterwards threw off the pope's authority, and departed from many of the errors of the church of Rome.

Whereof the thunder of the pope was levelled against him, and he was excommunicated: his subjects also were absolved from their obedience, and all the princes of Europe were excited to make war upon him.

But Henry was beloved at home, and feared abroad; wherefore the thunder of the pope was despised, neither was he terrified with all the fiery bolts of his wrath.

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of infidelity and atheism: many of them led the most licentious lives; being guilty of fornication, incest, sodomy, and other shameless crimes. Leo X. at this time filled the papal chair. He was a learned and penetrating man; a great patron of literature, and as such entitled to the gratitude of all men of letters; but like many of his predecessors, he was very profligate in his manners, and apparently had no faith in the doctrines of the religion he professed. According to Mr. *Bayle* he owed his elevation to the papal chair to a distemper he had caught in his *combats with Venus.* An anecdote is related of him, by one writer, from which it appears, that he considered Christianity only a *profitable fable.* It was in a dispute with Cardinal Bembo, when he made this observation: Bembo, quoting a passage from the Evangelists, Leo observed, "*It is well known to all ages how profitable this fable of Christ has been to us.*" See Bayle's Historical Dict. vol. iii. p. 764.

The dissipated life of this pontiff rendered it necessary to open a sale for indulgences to replenish his coffers. Though despising religion himself, he was willing to make its frauds subservient to his interest. The sale of indulgences or absolution for sins, arose from the tenets of the Romish faith. The church, it was supposed, was possessed of a great stock of merit, as being entitled to all the good works of all the saints, beyond what were employed in their own justification. The disposal of this surplus fund of righteousness, was vested in the pope. Such an expedient for raising money was not likely to be overlooked in the hands of Leo. He opened a

And Henry made unto himself a great idol, the likeness of which was not in heaven above, nor in the earth beneath. And he reared up his head unto the clouds, and extended his arm over all the land.

His legs also were as the posts of a gate, or as an arch stretched forth over the doors of all the public offices in the land; and whosoever went out, or whosoever came in, passed beneath, and with idolatrous reverence lift up their eyes, and kissed the cheeks of the postern.

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general sale of indulgences. The agents principally employed in this traffic were the Dominicans. These monks, in order to prove themselves worthy of their office, extolled the advantage of indulgences to the skies, and even ventured to advance some doctrines on the subject not yet quite familiar to the people. To add to the scandal, the collectors of this extraordinary impost are said to have led very scandalous lives, and to have spent in gaming houses, taverns, and brothels, the money which devout persons had foolishly paid to purchase a remission of their sins.* The grossness of this imposture, together with the more general diffusion of knowledge by the art of printing, may be considered the cause which prepared the way for the reformation by *Martin Luther.*

And Henry made unto himself a great idol.] Cardinal Wolsey is here alluded to. It will be proper to give a short outline of the biography of this extraordinary personage. In his character and history he resembles in many things the celebrated Thomas à Becket. We shall mention the most important facts in his life as we find them in Hume, Rapin, the Biographia Britannica, and other authentic sources of information.

Thomas Wolsey was born at Ipswich, in March, 1471. There is some doubt among his biographers, whether his father was a butcher or grazier, or both. However this may be, the son received a learned education, and being endowed with an excellent capacity, he was admitted into the Marquis of Dorset's family, as tutor to his children. Having obtained the confidence of his patron, he was presented by that nobleman to the rectory of Lymington in Somersetshire, Oct. 10, 1500. Being of a gay and sociable disposition, he accompanied some of his neighbours to a fair in the neighbourhood, where getting drunk and creating a disturbance, he was put in the stocks by Sir Amyas Powlet, a justice of the peace. This seems not to have been any obstacle to his advancement. By the recommendation of sir John Naport, he was made one of the King's chaplains. While in this situation he insinuated himself into the favour of Fox, bishop of Winchester, who recommended him to Henry VII, as a fit person to negotiate a marriage betwixt that monarch and the duchess of Savoy. He acquitted himself so well in this embassy, that on his return, he was made dean of Lincoln, and prebendary of Walton Brinhold.

Wolsey was in these circumstances when Henry VIII. became king. He soon insinuated himself into the confidence of that monarch. He was admitted to Henry's parties of pleasure, he took the lead in every jovial conversation, and promoted all that frolic and fun, which he found agreeable to the age and inclination of the King. He was then forty years of age, but neither that, nor his character of a clergyman, appears to have been any check upon his gaiety; and he laughed, danced, sung and rallied, and laid aside all the severity appertaining to his station. His power over the King became almost absolute. Henry made him a member of his council, and abandoned to him the entire direction of the administration. He was promoted to

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 34.

And all the people, both small and great, fell down before him, and worshipped; for they feared his power.

Priests also and bishops brought him water to wash, and dukes and nobles held the towel.

Howbeit he fell down from the pinnacle of his greatness, and was dashed in pieces even as a potter's vessel. Wherefore let him that standeth, take heed lest he fall.

And Henry was a gracious king, but a tyrannical husband.

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the archiepiscopal see of York, which he was allowed to hold in conjunction with the rich bishopries of Winchester and Durham. He held in commendam the abbey of St. Albans, and many other church preferments. In short, the wealth and honours he possessed were almost without bounds. His pride and ostentation kept pace with his prosperity. His train consisted of 800 servants, of whom many were knights and gentlemen. Some of the nobility put their children into his family, as a place of education, and to procure his favour, allowed them to bear offices as his servants. Whoever was distinguished by any art or science paid court to the cardinal; and none paid court in vain. Literature found in him a liberal patron, and he gave encouragement to every branch of erudition. Not content with this munificence, which gained him the approbation of the wise, he strove to dazzle the eyes of the populace by the splendour of his equipage and furniture, the costly embroidery of his liveries, and the lustre of his apparel. He was the first ecclesiastic in England, that wore silk and gold, not only on his habit, but also on his saddles and the trappings of his horses. He caused his cardinal's hat to be borne aloft by a person of rank: and when he came to the King's chapel would permit it to be laid on no place but the altar. A priest, the tallest and comeliest he could find, carried before him a pillar of silver, on whose top was placed a cross. Not satisfied with this parade, he provided another priest of equal stature and beauty, who marched along bearing the cross of York, even in the diocese of Canterbury, contrary to ancient rule and agreement between the prelates of these rival sees.

His pride and ostentation were still further increased on being appointed the pope's legate in England. Having obtained this new dignity, he made a new display of state and parade. On solemn feast days he was not content with saying mass after the manner of the pope himself: not only had he bishops and abbots to serve him, he even engaged the first nobility to give him water and the towel. Warham the primate, having written him a letter, in which he subscribed himself *your loving brother*, Wolsey complained of his presumption in thus challenging an equality with him. When Warham was told what offence he had given, he said,—*Know ye not that this man is drunk with too much prosperity.*

Having thus attained the summit of greatness, he was doomed to experience a terrible reverse of fortune. Various causes have been assigned for his downfall, but no doubt the principal were the capricious, tyrannical and impetuous character of Henry VIII. joined to Wolsey's own indiscreet conduct, which had excited general envy and disgust. The King first deprived him of the great seal. He was next ordered to depart from York-place, a palace he had built in London. This was seized by Henry, and became afterwards the residence of the King of England, by the title of Whitehall. All his furniture and plate were seized. Their riches and splendour befitted rather a royal than a private fortune. The walls of his palace were covered with cloth of gold, or cloth of silver. He had a cupboard of plate of massy gold, and

And he took unto himself six wives, but they pleased him not; wherefore he accused them of incontinence and divers crimes, and put them away. Moreover, he beheaded some, and some he put in prison, and he dealt cruelly with them.

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there were found a thousand pieces of fine holland belonging to him. The Cardinal himself was ordered to retire near Asher, a seat he possessed near Hampton Court. The world which had paid him such abject court, now entirely deserted him. Wolsey himself was extremely dejected with this fatal reverse of fortune. The smallest appearance of his return to favour threw him into transports of joy unbecoming a man. At one time the King seemed willing to intermit the blows which overwhelmed him. But the enemies of the Cardinal were unceasing in their effort stop rejudice the King against his favourite. After remaining sometime at Asher, he was allowed to remove to his palace at Richmond. Here the courtiers dreading his vicinity to the King, procured an order for him to remove to Cawood in Yorkshire, where his affability and hospitality, rendered him extremely popular in the neighbourhood. But he was not allowed to remain long unmolested in this retreat. The earl of Northumberland received orders to arrest him for high treason, and conduct him to London in order to his trial. The Cardinal, partly from the fatigues of the journey, partly from the agitations of his anxious mind, was seized with a distemper, which enabled him, with some difficulty, to reach Leicester Abbey. When the abbot and monks advanced to mee him, with much respect and reverence, Shakspeare makes him address them——

"O father abbot!
An old man broken with the storms of state,
Is come to lay his weary bones among ye:
Give him a little earth for charity."

He immediately took to his bed, whence he never rose more. A little before he expired, he said to the king's officers, who stood near his bed: "If I had served God half so diligently as I have served the King, he would not have given me over in my grey hairs."

Thus died the famous Cardinal Wolsey. His greatest crime was his ambition, and it was to indulge this darling passion, and a love of magnificence, that he endeavoured to render his unbounded influence over the King alone subservient. His memory cannot be charged with flagrant offences. He rose into favour without any extraordinary virtues, and he fell without having committed any extraordinary crime. He left behind him two natural sons; one of whom, Winter, was loaded with church preferment.

And he took unto himself six wives.] Henry's first spouse was *Catherine*, infanta of Spain, who had been married to his brother. Besides the canonical objection to this match there was considerable disparity in their years. But these objections were more than counterbalanced in the opinion of the King by *Catherine's* virtues and her amiable disposition. His second wife was the unfortunate *Anne Boleyn*. She was maid of honour to the Queen, and by her youth, beauty, and the charms of her conversation, had acquired an entire ascendant over him. The King suddenly pretended to have strong scruples about the lawfulness of his marriage with *Catherine*, though no doubt the real cause originated in this new attachment. Soon after the Queen died, and left the way open for the indulgence of his humour. Before her death, she wrote a very tender letter to the King, styling him *her most dear lord, King, and husband.* After urging many considerations relative to his spiritual and temporal welfare, she concluded with these words, *I make this vow, that mine eyes desire you above all things.*

Henry the Eighth.

And it came to pass, when a certain priest in one of his sermons defended the king in this matter, that all the women in the town rose up against him, and they stoned him with stones, and drove him from amongst them.

Anne Boleyn soon lost the affection of the King. The fickle monarch had fixed his eyes upon a new object, and was impatient for the gratification of this fresh appetite. The new favourite was Jane, daughter to Sir John Seymour, also a maid of honour; a young lady of singular beauty and merit. Unlike most princes, Henry had no notion of indulging his passion otherwise than by marriage; therefore it was necessary, either by divorce or death, to remove his present partner out of the way. *Anne Boleyn* was accused of infidelity to his bed. There does not appear to have been the slightest foundation for this imputation. She was even accused of incest with her brother lord Rochford. The only evidence in support of the charge, amounted to no more than that Rochford had been seen to lean on her bed before some company. Part of the charge against her was, that she had affirmed to some of her friends, that the King never had her heart: *which was to the slander of the issue begotten between the King and her.* By this strained interpretation her guilt was brought under the 25th of this reign, where it is declared criminal to throw any slander upon the King, Queen, or their issue. Such palpable absurdities were admitted at that day, and they were deemed sufficient by the peers, before whom the Queen was tried, for putting an innocent woman to death. She was beheaded on the 19th of May, and met her fate with great firmness, and even gaiety.

Henry was married to Lady *Seymour* the day after the execution of *Anne Boleyn*. This Queen brought him a son, afterwards Edward VI. She died two days after, and left Henry at liberty to make a new choice. Having seen a flattering picture of Anne of Cleves, he determined to espouse that princess. Anne was sent over to England. Impatient to satisfy himself about the person of his bride, he went privately to Rochester to get a sight of her. He found her big indeed, tall as he could wish, but utterly destitute of grace and beauty, very unlike her picture. He swore she was a great *Flanders mare*, and declared he could never possibly bear her any affection. To heighten his disappointment, she could speak nothing but Dutch, a language of which he was entirely ignorant. The morning after the marriage, Cromwell inquired of him, if he now liked his spouse any better. Henry told him he was resolved never to meddle with her again; and he even suspected her not to be a *true maid;* a point about which he had always been extremely delicate. He continued however to treat her with great kindness till he obtained a divorce from her.

His fifth wife was *Catherine Howard*. In this marriage he considered himself perfectly blessed. The agreeable person and disposition of Catherine, had entirely captivated his affections; and in the height of his transports, he publicly, in his chapel, returned solemn thanks to Heaven for the unspeakable felicity the conjugal state afforded him; and directed the bishop of Lincoln to compose a form of thanksgiving for the occasion. His bliss was fated soon to terminate, and in the bitter disappointment he experienced in Catherine, Heaven seemed to revenge upon him the cruelty with which he had sacrificed his former wives. The Queen it appeared, had led a most dissolute life before her marriage. Two of her servants, Derham and Monnoc, had been admitted to her bed. In their examination before the Chancellor, they confessed their guilt, and also made further disclosures of the Queen's profligate conduct. Three maids of the family had been admitted into her secrets, and some of them had even passed the night in bed with her and her lovers. All these discoveries were laid

Now the rest of the acts of king Henry, and all that he did, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of England?

And Henry was a man of great parts and much experience, and could penetrate very far into hidden things; yea, so great was the opinion of his capacity, that the measure of his abilities is preserved in the tower of London unto this day; and it behoveth all men to humble themselves before him, and confess his superior greatness.

And Henry slept with his fathers, and Edward his son reigned in his stead.

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before the King, who was so deeply affected, that he remained a long time speechless, and at last burst into tears. He found, to his surprise, that his great skill in distinguishing a *true maid*, of which he had boasted in the case of Anne of Cleves, had failed him in his present consort. The Queen being next examined, denied her guilt, but when informed that a full discovery had been made, she confessed that she had been criminal before marriage, but insisted she had never been false to the King's bed. But in this she was unworthy of credit. It was proved that lady Rochford, the king being at Lincoln, had introduced one Colepepper into the Queen's chambers at eleven o'clock in the night, and staid there till four in the morning, and on his departure, Catherine gave him a gold chain and rich cap. Moreover she had taken Derham, her ancient paramour into her service, which showed she intended to continue her former intrigue. Catherine was afterwards beheaded, as well as the associates of her dishonour.

Henry finding his skill in *maidenheads* not infallible, determined to secure himself against future blunders by act of parliament. A law was passed, which among other notable things, enacted, that if the King married any woman who had been incontinent, taking her for a *true maid*, she should be guilty of treason, if she did not previously reveal her guilt to him. The people made merry with this clause, and said that the King must henceforth look out for a widow, for no reputed maid would ever be persuaded to incur the penalty of the statute. Henry followed the advice of his subjects. He married for his *sixth wife*, Catharine Par, widow of Nevil, lord Latimer.

And Henry slept with his fathers.] Henry died after a reign of thirty-seven years, and in the fifty-sixth year of his age. His health had long been in a declining state, but his attendants were afraid to inform him of his approaching dissolution. An act of parliament having adjudged those traitors, who should foretel the King's death, they were apprehensive, lest in the transports of fury against the bearers of such unwelcome intelligence, they should be capitally punished. At last Sir Anthony Denny had the courage and charity to warn him that he had only a few hours to live. The King thanked him, and expressed his grief and horror for all the sins of his past life.* Denny asked him if any clergyman should be sent for, and he said, if any, it should be Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. When Cranmer arrived the King was speechless, and he could only express, by signs, that he died in the faith of Christ. His death was kept private three days. In his will he left money for masses to be said to deliver his soul out of purgatory. This is remarkable, because in his life-time he had destroyed all those institutions established by others for their souls, and in the articles of faith he had promulgated, had left doubtful the doctrine of purgatory. But as Hume remarks, he no doubt thought it best to adhere to the safe side of the question, and if there

* Rapin, vol. vi. p. 566.

were any mode of shortening the torments of the body after death, he might as well secure to himself the benefit of it.

Application.

In the general history of this period there are many things deserving of notice. It is the religious, rather than the political changes of Henry's reign that are important. His arbitrary and imperious disposition, had engrossed the whole political power of the state. The two houses of parliament were the mere slavish instruments of his tyranny. Whatever his passions or caprice suggested, they enacted into laws. By one act, the King's proclamations are made equal to laws.* This was at once subverting the constitution (if any such thing existed at this time) and rendering the King absolute. A curious anecdote is related of his summary mode of proceeding when the commons appeared any way refractory. They had made some scruples about passing a money bill; the King sent for Edward Montague, one of the leading members; being introduced to his majesty, the representative of the people had the mortification to hear him speak these words: *Ho! man! will they not suffer my bill to pass.* And laying his hand on Montague's head, then on his knees before him, *get my bill passed to morrow, or else to morrow this head of your's shall be off.* The bill passed next day.

Such being the degraded state of the commons, it is not surprising the people were deemed no better than *brutes*. On occasion of a formidable rebellion in the north, the King issued a manifesto to the rebels, drawn up in a style well suited to so arbitrary a tyrant. He told them plainly that they ought no more to pretend giving a judgment with regard to government, than a blind man with regard to colours, "*And we,*" he added, "*with our whole council think it right strange that ye, who be but brutes and inexpert folk, do take upon you to point us, who be meet or not for our council.*"

We shall now speak of the suppression of the monasteries by this monarch. A commission being appointed to visit religious houses, monstrous disorders were found to pervade these nurseries of fraud, vice, and indolence; whole convents of women abandoned to lewdness; signs of abortion procured, infants murdered, of unnatural lusts betwixt persons of the same sex. The holy relics, which the credulous people had hitherto looked upon with profound veneration, were now exposed to their ridicule. Among other sanctified morsels, were found the parings of St. Edmond's toes, some of the coals that roasted the good St. Lawrence, the girdle of the blessed Virgin, shown in eleven several places; the felt of St. Thomas of Lancaster, an infallible cure for the head-ache; part of St. Thomas of Canterbury's shirt, of great efficacy to big-bellied women. At Hales, in Gloucestershire there had been shown, during several ages, the blood of Christ brought from Jerusalem; such a relic it is easy to imagine was held in great veneration by the multitude. This sacred relic was not visible to any one in mortal sin, till he had performed *good works* sufficient for his absolution. At the dissolution the whole contrivance was detected: two of the monks had taken the blood of a duck, which they renewed every week; they put it in a phial, one side of which consisted of thin transparent chrystal, the other of thick and opaque. When any rich pilgrim arrived, they were sure to show him the dark side of the phial, till masses and offerings had expiated his offences, and then finding his money or his patience exhausted, they made him happy by turning the phial.

There is nothing very remarkable in these fooleries Similar contrivances for emptying the pockets of the credulous, may be found in all ages. The people were then comparatively uninformed; therefore gross impostures answered the purpose; but now when they have become more enlightened, it behoves priestcraft to be more artful, though not less fraudulent in its devices.

The religious houses were suppressed at two several times; the first suppression was in the year 1536, and extended only to the lesser monasteries, whose revenues were

* Hume, vol. iv. p. 196.

below 200l. a year. By this act three hundred and twenty-six monasteries were suppressed, and their revenues amounting to 32,000l. a year were granted to the King, besides their goods, chattels, and plate, which were computed at 100,000l. more. Hollinshed says, that 10,000 monks were turned out by the dissolution of the lesser monasteries. No great opposition was made to the measure, and two years after Henry laid his rapacious hands on the revenues of the greater monasteries. This completed the work of dissolution and the abolition of the monastic orders. The whole number of monasteries suppressed amounted to six-hundred and forty-five; of these, twenty-eight had abbots, who enjoyed a seat in parliament. Ninety colleges were dissolved in several counties; two thousand three-hundred and seventy-four churches and free chapels and a hundred and ten hospitals. The whole revenue of these establishments amounted to £161,100. The whole revenue of England, arising from lands and possessions, had been rated, a little before this period, at four millions a year; so that the revenue of the monks did not exceed a twentieth part of the national income. Probably the revenues of the clergy at this day are, a larger proportion of the industry of the community. It may also be remarked in favour of the Catholic clergy, that a very considerable proportion of their incomes was expended in hospitality, relieving and assisting the indigent, and in the education of the people; but the incomes of the Protestant clergy are expended wholly by themselves, a vast majority of whom fill only sinecure situations in the church.

One of the principal advantages from the abolition of the ancient religion was a more regular execution of justice. While the Catholic superstition subsisted, there was no possibility of punishing any crime in the clergy. The church would not permit the magistrate to try the offences of her members, and she could not herself inflict any civil penalties upon them. Henry restrained these pernicious immunities. The privilege of clergy was abolished for the crimes of petty treason, murder, and felony, to all under the degree of a subdeacon. The privilege of sanctuaries too, which afforded protection not only to the clergy, but the laity, were abolished; and no person guilty of murder, rape, burglary, or other atrocious crime, was allowed to take refuge in a religious house: these, it must be admitted, were great advances towards the reformation, and tended greatly to lessen the importance the clergy had usurped over the understanding of the people.

It was not till the end of this reign that salads, carrots, turnips, or other edible roots were produced in England. The little of these vegetables that was used was brought from Holland and Flanders. Queen Catharine, when she wanted a salad was obliged to despatch a messenger thither on purpose. The use of hops and planting them was first introduced from Flanders about this time.

Foreign artificers in general much surpassed the English in skill, industry, and frugality; hence arose the violent animosity the latter bore against any of the former, who settled in England. On one occasion a violent commotion was raised by the apprentices and workmen in London, who attempted to break open the prisons in order to liberate some persons confined for insulting foreigners. This tumult was quelled with great difficulty; thirteen of the rioters were executed; and more than four hundred apprehended, who were brought before the King with ropes about their necks, and falling on their knees before the King cried for mercy. A curious proclamation was afterwards issued, directing that women should not meet together to babble and talk, and that all men should keep their wives in their houses.

There appears to have been a great improvement in the manners of the people since the reign of Henry VIII. The prisoners in the kingdom confined for debts and crimes is stated to have been sixty thousand; an incredible number, when the smallness of the population is considered. Harrison asserts, that 72,000 criminals were executed during this reign for theft and robbery, which would amount to nearly 2000 a year. He adds that in the latter end of Elizabeth's reign, there were not punished capitally 400 in a year. At present there are not executed fifty for these

crimes. This extraordinary decrease in delinquency can only be ascribed to the diffusion of knowledge among the people; which our *religious* and *moral* government, supported by the Society for the Suppression of Vice, is passing laws to prevent.

XXI.—EDWARD VI.

Now Edward was nine years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England six years and five months.

And he was a pious prince, and he loved the truth, and promoted the reformation which Henry his father had begun.

Howbeit he was cut off as a flower in its bud, or as a rose in the morning sun; his days also were as a span, and the years of his reign as a shadow that passeth away; but his memory smelleth sweet for ever.

And he appointed for his successor the lady Jane Grey, and she was proclaimed queen; but the party of Mary prevailing, Jane was beheaded in the Tower of London, and Mary her sister reigned in her stead.

And he was a pious prince—promoted the reformation.] Religious toleration advanced with great difficulty even after the Reformation. Under the reign of this mild Prince, fire and faggot were considered the most effectual means of promoting truth and maintaining uniformity of opinion. One poor woman, Joan Bocher, or Joan of Kent, having formed some peculiar notion about the nature of the conception of the Virgin, which appears to have been a great mystery in those days, she was committed to the flames. Edward hesitated a long time before he would consent to such a barbarous mode of conversion; but his scruples were at length overcome by the importunities of Cranmer.

Howbeit he was cut off as a flower.] He died of a consumption, at Greenwich, in the sixteenth year of his age, and the seventh of his reign; leaving behind him the reputation of many virtues and excellent qualities.

XXII.—MARY.

And Mary adhered to the church of Rome, and she revived the errors thereof, and restored all the ancient forms and foolish ceremonies.

Moreover she was of a cruel nature, and she persecuted unto death all who opposed her doctrines, and her reign stinketh of blood unto this day.

Old men and children, young men and maidens, they also that gave suck, with the infant at the breast, she burned at the stake; and the fire of persecution was not quenched all the days of her life:

But the vengeance of the Lord overtook her, and she was torn from the face of the earth as a bramble that choaketh the field, and her name is an abomination.

And from the time that she was crowned, to the day which the Lord smote her with sickness, was five years and four months, and she died, and Elizabeth her sister reigned in her stead.

Old men and children—she burned at the stake.] It is computed that in the course of three years, two hundred and seventy-seven persons were brought to the stake; besides those who were punished by imprisonment, fines, and confiscations. Among those who suffered by fire, were five bishops, twenty-one clergymen, eight lay gentlemen, eighty-four tradesmen, one hundred husbandmen, servants, and labourers, fifty-five women and four children. These cruelties were nothing to what was practised in other countries to stop the progress of the new opinions. One author computes that in the Netherlands alone, from the time the edict of Charles V. was promulgated against the reformers, there had been fifty thousand persons hanged, beheaded, burned alive, or burnt on account of religion. But what is this compared to the blood shed in France, Spain, Italy, and the New World, from the same fatal source. These are some of the evils which ought to be taken into the account, in estimating the advantages conferred on mankind by religion.

And from the time that she was crowned—and she died] She died of a fever originating principally in anxiety and vexation of mind, at witnessing the ill success of her efforts to re-establish the catholic faith.

Application.

Hume, always very indulgent to the frailties of royalty, says, in drawing the character of this princess, that she possessed few qualities either estimable or amiable; and her person was as little engaging as her behaviour and address: obstinacy, revenge, bigotry, violence, cruelty, malignity, tyranny; every circumstance of her character took a tincture from her bad temper and narrow understanding.

Such being the despicable character of Mary, it affords little matter for reflection; and we shall leave this subject in order to notice the alterations in the laws and manners of the people about this period.

In this reign was passed the first general law with regard to the highways, which were appointed to be repaired by parish duty all over England.

A law passed also, by which the number of horses, arms and furniture was fixed, which each person, according to the extent of his property, should be provided with for the defence of the kingdom. A man of a thousand pounds a year for instance, was obliged to maintain, at his own charge, six horses with their furniture, &c. As no

class above a thousand a year is mentioned, it appears that was considered the highest income of one individual.

Some notion may be formed of the little progress made in arts and refinement from one circumstance: a man of no less rank than the comptroller of Edward VI.'s household, paid only thirty shillings a year, of our present money, for his house in Channel-row. Yet labour and provisions, and consequently houses, were only about a third of the present price. ERASMUS ascribes the frequent plagues in England, to the nastiness and dirt, and slovenly habits among the people. "The floors" says he, "are commonly of clay, strewed with rushes, under which lie unmolested an ancient collection of beer, grease, fragments, bones, spittle, excrements of dogs and cats, and every thing that is nasty."

HOLLINSHED, who lived in the reign of Elizabeth, gives a very curious account of the rude and comfortless way of living in the preceding generation, and which, in many respects, bears a strong resemblance to the mode of life of the Hottentots. The luxury of a chimney to the houses, even in considerable towns, was unknown. The fire was kindled by the wall, and the smoke sought its way out at the roof, or door, or windows. The houses were nothing but watling plastered over with clay. The people slept on straw pallets and had a good round log of wood under their head for a pillow; and almost all the furniture and utensils were of wood.

Some passages in *Hollinshed* are so curious that they seem worth inserting. Speaking of the increase of *luxury*: "Neither do I speak this in reproach of any man, God is my judge; but to show that I do rejoice to see how God has blessed us with his good gifts, and to behold how that in a time wherein all things are grown to most excessive prices, we do find the means to achieve such furniture as heretofore has been impossible. There are old men living, in the village where I remain, which have noted three things to be marvellously altered in England within their own remembrance. One is the multitude of chimneys lately erected; whereas, in their young days there were not above two or three, if so many, in most uplandish towns of the realm, (the religious houses and manor places of their lands always excepted, and peradventure some great personage;) but each made his fire against the veredasse in the hall, where he dined and dressed his meat. The second is the great amendment in lodging: for said they, our fathers, and we ourselves, have lain full oft upon straw pallets covered only with a sheet, under coverlets made of dogs' waine or hop harlots, (I use their own terms) and a good log under their head instead of a bolster. If it were so, that the father or the good man of the house had a mattress or flock bed, and thereto a sack of chaff to rest his head upon, he thought himself to be as well lodged as the lord of the town. Pillows, said they, were thought meet only for women in child-bed. As for servants, if they had any sheet above them it was well; for seldom had they any under their bodies to keep them from the pricking straws that ran often through the canvas, and raised their hardened hides. The third thing they tell off, is the exchange of *treene* platers (made of wood) into pewter, and wooden spoons into silver or tin. For so common were all sorts of treene in old time, that a man should hardly find four pieces of pewter, (of which one was peradventure a salt) in a good farmer's house."—*Description of Britain*, chap. x.

The same writer gives an account of the hours of meals in Elizabeth's reign. "With us the nobility, gentry, and students, do ordinarily go to dinner at eleven before noon, and to supper at five, or between five and six at afternoon. The merchants dine and sup seldom before twelve at noon and six at night, especially in London. The husbandmen also dine at high noon, as they call it, and sup at seven or eight: but out of term in our universities the scholars dine at ten.

FROISSART, the chronicler, mentions waiting on the Duke of Lancaster at five o'clock in the afternoon when he had supped. Hume remarks, it is hard to tell why all over the world, as the age becomes more luxurious, the hours become later. Is it the crowd of amusements that push on the hours gradually? or do people of fashion consider their persons and amusements more suitable to the secrecy and darkness

ness of nocturnal hours? The chief cause seems to be, that in rude ages, men have few amusements or occupation but what day-light afford, whereas in ages of refinement, reading, study, and conversation, afford employment which can be as conveniently pursued in the night as the day.

One thing has been entirely reversed in the change of hours; formerly the better sort took their meals earlier than the working classes, now they take them later. The state of manners here described was about the middle of the 16th century.

XXIII.—ELIZABETH.

Now Elizabeth was twenty and five years old when she began to reign, and she reigned over England forty and four years, four months, and seven days, and her mother's name was Anna Bullen.

And she was endowed with wisdom from above, and the spirit of the Almighty gave her understanding; she chose unto herself wise and able ministers; she hearkened unto their counsels, and she governed her kingdom with power and great glory.

The sea also was subject unto her, and she reigned on the ocean with a mighty hand.

Her admirals compassed the world about, and brought her home treasures from the uttermost parts of the earth.

The glory of England she advanced to its height, and all the princes of the earth sought her love; her love was fixed on the happiness of her people, and would not be divided.

Her admirals compassed the world about.] Alluding to the voyage of sir Francis Drake. Drake was the son of a sailor, born at Tavistock, in Devonshire. He commenced his voyage round the world in the year 1577. After passing through the straits of Magellan, he sailed along the western coast of America as high as the 48th degree of north latitude. He returned by the Cape of Good Hope, and thus completed the circuit of the globe. Out of 154 men, of which his crew consisted, only 57 survived. On his return, Elizabeth dined aboard his ship at Deptford; and of a part of the timber of the vessel, a chair was made and presented to the University of Oxford.—Sir Francis Drake was not the first man who sailed round the world, as is sometimes represented; Magellan's ships had performed the same voyage fifty years before; but as Magellan was slain at the Ladrone islands, and only part of his crew returned, it may, with some justice, be said, that Drake was the first who completed the voyage.

Elizabeth.

The æra of learning was also in her reign, and the genius of wit shone bright in the land.

Spenser and Shakspeare, Verulam and Sidney, Raleigh and Drake adorned her court, and made her reign immortal.

And woe unto you, Spaniards; woe unto you, ye haughty usurpers of the American seas; for at the lightning of her eyes ye were destroyed, and at the breath of her mouth ye were scattered abroad; she came upon your *Armada* as a whirlwind, and as a tempest of thunder she overwhelmed you in the sea.

The æra of learning was also in her reign.] The foundation of this æra had been laid in the preceding reigns. Near twenty grammar schools had been created during the reign of Henry VIII. under the patronage of Wolsey, whose favourite school at Ipswich rivalled those of Winchester and Eton. Henry himself was the most learned man of his time; he wrote a grammar, and composed several pieces in Latin. His successor, Edward VI. was a learned prince, and has left several specimens of his Latinity. Mary, though greatly inferior to her sister, was no mean proficient in classical erudition. Elizabeth was expert in the Greek tongue, and translated into English the orations of Isocrates. Such being the characters of four successive sovereigns, it is not surprising learning should flourish and become popular. Even the ladies of the court valued themselves on their knowledge; many of these understood the ancient as well as the modern languages, and esteemed themselves more on their erudition than their birth or rank. The public despatches, especially those of Burleigh, were frequently adorned with quotations from Greek and Latin authors. In short, from the example and encouragement of the court, the learning of the age gradually became as much the property of the laity as the clergy, and men entered on that career of improvement, in which, under many obstacles, they have since persevered One remark however, it is proper to make on the learning of this age. Science, by which truth alone can be discovered, and society ameliorated, was unknown: this formed the triumph of a subsequent reign, and for which the cultivation of classical literature, and the endless and unprofitable theological disputes agitated at the Reformation, no doubt prepared the way.

Spenser and Shakspeare.] To these illustrious names, we may add those of Hollinshed, Ascham, Buchanan, the admirable Crichton, and other eminent men, who flourished about this period.

And woe unto you, Spaniards—she came upon your Armada.] Philip's war against England, in the vain confidence with which it was undertaken, and its disastrous issue, bears some resemblance to the invasion of Greece by Xerxes. Both these haughty monarchs relied more upon an overwhelming force, than the skill with which it was directed, and their enterprises came to nought, from the unexpected skill and courage of enemies they despised. Cotemporary writers give the most pompous description of the formidable appearance of the Armada; it is described as appearing in the form of a crescent, stretching the distance of seven miles from the extremity of one division to that of another: the lofty masts, the swelling sails, and the towering prows of the Spanish galleons, they can only describe by assuming the language of poetry; and representing the ocean as groaning under, and the wind tired with impelling such an enormous weight. The truth however is, that the largest of the Spanish ves-

Wisdom and strength were in her right hand, and in her left were glory and wealth.

She spake, and it was war; she waved her hand, and the nations dwelt in peace.

Her ministers were just, her counsellors were sage; her captains were bold, and her maids of honour ate beef-steaks for breakfast.

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sels would scarcely pass for third-rates in the present navy, and were so ill formed they were quite unwieldy, and in rough weather utterly unmanageable. One of the largest ships took fire, and the great galleon of Andalusia fell behind the rest of the fleet by the springing of her mast. No general action occurred, the whole ended in a few skirmishes, in which Drake and the brave Sir Richard Grenville covered themselves with glory. A violent tempest arising completed the destruction of the Armada; the mariners unaccustomed to hardships, abandoned themselves to despair, and suffered their unwieldy ships, impelled by the fury of the storm, to drive on the western isles of Scotland or the coast of Ireland, where they were miserably wrecked. Few ships returned to Spain, and the seamen and soldiers who remained, were so overcome with hardships and fatigue, and so dispirited by their discomfiture, that they filled all Spain with accounts of the desperate valour of the English, and of the tempestuous violence of the ocean that surrounds them.

Her ministers were just—maids of honour ate beef steaks for breakfast.] We have already described the general mode of living in the preceding reign. Breakfast was little used. If any thing was taken, it was a glass of ale and a slice of bread. The general amusements of the ladies seem to have been coarse enough. Speaking of Elizabeth, Rowland White, in the Sydney papers says: "this day she appoints a Frenchman to doe feats upon a rope in the conduit court; to-morrow she has commanded the beares, the bull, and the apes, to be bayted in the tilt yard; and on Wednesday she will have *solemne dawncing*."

Selden, in his "Table Talk," thus describes the latter amusement: "The court of England is much altered; at a *solemn dancing* first you had the grave measures, then the coronatoes and the galliards, and this kept up with ceremony, and at last to Trenchmare (Frenchmore) and the cushion dance. Then all the company dances, lord and lady, groom and kitchen maid, no distinction. So in our court in Queen Elizabeth's time, gravity and state were kept up; in King James's time, things were pretty well; but in King Charles's time there has been nothing but Trenchmore and the cushion dance; omnium gatherum, troly poly, hoity hoity."

Luxury in dress made great progress. The pocket handkerchiefs of the ladies were frequently wrought with gold and silver, and their shifts were richly embroidered. The chopine is sometimes mentioned; it was an Italian shoe, with a heel ridiculously high. The fly cap was in great vogue. Aldermen's wives had bonnets of velvet, large and showy. Chains and bracelets were ornaments used mostly by women of rank. The ruffs, made of lawn and cambric, stiffened with yellow starch, were immoderately large: the poking of these gracefully behind was considered a most important attainment. The waist became enormously long; the bodice or stays finished with a most extended point in front at bottom; and to render the appearance still more inconvenient and grotesque, the upper part of the gown, near the shoulders, was considerably enlarged by wool or other stuffing. The fardingale, a Spanish petticoat, bulky over the hips, now went out of fashion, it was introduced by Philip and Mary; and Howel intimates that it was invented to conceal unlicensed pregnancy. Heywoode thus humorously sings the death of the fardingale.

Now the rest of the acts of queen Elizabeth, and all the glorious things that she did, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of England?

And Elizabeth slept with her fathers, and she was a virgin; she tasted not of man, neither subjected she herself unto him all the days of her life.

"Alas! poor vardingales must lie i' th' streete;
To house them no doore i' th' citee's made meete,
Syns at our narrow doores they cannot go in,
Send them to Oxforde at Brode-gate to get in."

When Paul Hentzner saw Elizabeth, then in her 67th year, she had, in her ears, two pearls with very rich drops. She wore false hair, and that red; her bosom was uncovered, "as all the English ladies," says Hentzner, "have till they marry." She was dressed in white silk, bordered with pearls of the size of beans; and over it a mantle of black silk, shot with silver threads; and instead of a chain, she had an oblong collar of gold and jewels. The same writer adds, that wherever she turned her face, every one fell down upon his knees. Henry VIII. had been treated with similar servility. Petitions were presented to her as she went along, which, as she received graciously, the people cried out "God save Queen Elizabeth," to which she answered, "I thancke ye, my goode penple." The presence chamber was strewed with hay; and Hentzner gives a particular account of the tastings, and genuflexions made on entering the Queen's room, though her majesty was not present. But this note is already too long. See Andrews's *History of Great Britain*, vol. ii. p. 310.

And Elizabeth—was a virgin, she tasted not of man.] This is a moot point among historians. Hume says (vol v. p. 282, in a note,) *her chastity was very much to be suspected.* But this is no more than might be observed of any maiden lady who had lived to the extreme age of Elizabeth. Rapin mentions a report in his time of descendants from a daughter she had by the Earl of Leicester. It is well known she was extremely attached to that nobleman, as well as to Admiral Seymour, Hatton, Simier, and the Earl of Essex. Her grief at the death of the latter nobleman, on discovering the treachery of the Countess of Nottingham, who had withheld the love token, was excessive, and, according to Hume, hastened her death. Her passions were extremely violent,—neither her love nor hatred being much controuled by reason. The extreme animosity she had conceived against the unfortunate Queen of Scots, is ascribed to the latter informing her of some of the scandalous stories related by the Countess of Shrewsbury. Among other things related by the Countess, were, that Elizabeth had given a promise of marriage to a certain person, whom she had afterwards admitted to her bed; that she had been equally indulgent to Simier, the French envoy, and to the Duke of Anjou: that Hatton, one of her paramours, was even disgusted with her excessive love and fondness: that though on other occasions she was avaricious to the last degree, as well as ungrateful, she spared no expense in gratifying her amorous passions: that, notwithstanding her licentious amours, she was not made like other women, and all those who courted her in marriage would in the end be disappointed: that she was so conceited of her beauty, as to swallow the most fulsome flattery; and lastly, that it was usual for her courtiers to tell her that the lustre of her beauty dazzled them like the sun, and that they could not behold it with fixed eyes.

Of the last at least of these stories there can be no doubt Elizabeth was ridiculously vain of her beauty; which at best was below mediocrity. Almost all her minis-

And she was buried in the chapel of king Henry the seventh, and James of Scotland reigned in her stead.

ters feigned love and desire towards her, and found no means so effectual for gaining her favour as discoursing upon her *excellent beauties.*

But to return to her gallantries. The most authentic account of these is given in the papers of the *Rev. Mr. Haynes*, transcribed from the original documents of Lord Burleigh, now in the possession of the Marquis of Salisbury. These papers contain an account of the Princess's intrigues with Sir Thomas Seymour, Lord Admiral, uncle to Edward VI. who married the queen-dowager immediately after the death of Henry VIII. Elizabeth was only in her sixteenth year, but she was then considered an object worthy of the ambition of the Admiral, who is described as a person of no mean accomplishments; "of person rare, strong limbs, and manly shape."

The protector Somerset, brother to the Lord Admiral, having heard of Seymour's intercourse with the Princess, sent Sir Thomas Tyrwhit to Hatfield, where she resided, to examine into the affair; and in his letter to his employer he informs us of some curious particulars. When by the dishonourable expedient of a counterfeit letter, he had made Elizabeth believe that Mrs. Ashley, her governess, and Parry her cofferer, were committed to the Tower, "her grace was," as he expresses it, "marvellously abashed, and did weep very tenderly a long time, demanding whether they had confessed any thing or not." Next day Tyrwhit writes, that all he has gotten from her was by gentle persuasion, whereby he began to grow with her in credit, "for I assure your grace, that she hath a good wit, and nothing is gotten of her but by great policy."

A few days after he expresses to the Protector his opinion that there had been some secret promise between the Princess, Mrs. Ashley, and the cofferer, never to confess till death; and if it be so, he observes, it will never be gotten from her, "but by the King's majesty, or by your grace." He confirms this idea, by stating, that he had tried her with false intelligence of Parry's having confessed, on which she called him, "false wretch," and said that it was a great matter for him to make such a promise and break it.

Parry's confession seems most in point, he says, "I do remember also, she, (Mrs. Ashley,) told me that the Admiral loved her but too well, and had done so a good while, and that the Queen was jealous on her and him,* in so much, that one time, the Queen suspecting the often access of the Admiral to the Lady Elizabeth's grace, came suddenly upon them when they were all alone, he having her in his arms: wherefore the Queen fell out both with the Lord Admiral and with her grace also."

Mrs. Ashley's confession of the "familiarities" she has known betwixt the Lord Admiral and the Lady Elizabeth's grace is still more curious: "She saith, at Chelsea, incontinent, after he was married to the Queen, he would come many mornings into the said Lady Elizabeth's chamber before she was redy, and, sometime, before she did rise. And if she were up, he would bid her good morrow, and ask how she did, and strike her upon the back or the buttocks familiarly, and so go forth through his lodgings; and, sometimes, go through to the maidens, and play with them, and so go forth; and if she were in her bed, he would put open the curtains, and bid her good morrow, and make as though he would come at her, and she would go further in the bed, so that he could not come at her.

"And one morning he strove to have kissed her in her bed; and this examinante was there, and bade him go away for shame. She knoweth not whether this was at Chelsea or Hanworth.

* In another part of his confession, Parry states that the Admiral also professed himself jealous of the servant who carried up coals to the Queen's apartment.

" At Hanworth he would likewise come in the morning to her grace; but as she remembereth at all times she was up before, saving two mornings, the which two mornings the Queen came with him; and this examinante lay with her grace; and there they tittled my Lady Elizabeth in the bed, the Queen and my Lord Admiral. Another time at Hanworth, in the garden, he romped with her, and cut her gowne in an hundred pieces, being black cloth; and when she came up, this examinante chid with her, and her grace answered she could not do with all, for the Queen held her while the Lord Admiral cut it."

Seymour used frequently to visit her in his night gown, bare legged, in his slippers. Something may be allowed for the comparative barbarity of the age; but, after all, it renders the chastity of Elizabeth " *very much to be suspected.*" In a spirited letter, she stoutly maintains her innocence, and concludes: " Master Tyrwhit and others have told me that there goeth rumours abroad, which be greatly against both my honour and honesty, (which above all things I esteem,) which be these: that I am in the Tower, and with child by my Lord Admiral. My lord, these are shameful slanders, for the which, besides the desire I have to see the King's majesty, I shall most humbly desire your lordship that I may come to the court after your first determination, that I may show myself there as I am."

We shall now leave the reader to form his own conclusions on this " delicate investigation." For a more particular elucidation of this subject, we must refer him either to the Burleigh Papers, by Haynes, or to Miss Aikin's Memoirs of the Court of Elizabeth, p. 76. Whatever might be the nature of the intercourse betwixt the Princess and Seymour, there can be little doubt, from her subsequent conduct, she was warmly attached to him, and connived at all his familiarities. Instead of resenting any thing that her governess had done or confessed, she continued to love and favour her in the highest degree; and after her accession, promoted her husband to a considerable office; a circumstance which, as Miss Aikin observes, affords good ground for suspicion that she was in possession of other secrets more important than those she had disclosed.

Parry, it seems, had the same merit of fidelity as Mrs. Ashley, and was rewarded in a similar manner: for though he was found faulty in his accounts, he was not only continued in his office of cofferer, but raised afterwards to that of comptroller of the royal household, which he held till his death.

Application.

Elizabeth expired in the seventieth year of her age, and forty-fifth of her reign; appointing her nearest kinsman, the king of Scots, her successor. Before her death, she had fallen into a deep and incurable melancholy; owing, as is thought, from grief at the death of her favourite Essex, and the treachery of the Countess of Nottingham. This lady was commissioned by the earl to deliver a ring, which he had received from the Queen, as a pledge of her unalterable attachment; but the Countess was prevailed upon by her husband, a mortal enemy of Essex, not to execute the commission; and Elizabeth, expecting her favourite would make this last appeal to her tenderness, ascribed the neglect of it to his obstinacy, and signed the warrant for his execution. The Countess of Nottingham, falling into sickness, was seized with remorse for her conduct; and having obtained a visit from the Queen, she craved her pardon, and revealed to her the fatal secret. Elizabeth, astonished with this incident, burst into a furious passion: she shook the dying Countess in her bed, and exclaiming, *that God might pardon her, but she never could,* she broke from her, and afterwards refused all consolation, and even sustenance.

Hume remarks on the character of this Princess, that there are few personages in history who have been more exposed to the calumny of enemies, and the adulation of friends, than Queen Elizabeth; and yet there is scarcely any whose reputation has been more certainly determined by the unanimous consent of posterity. Her

vigour, her constancy, her magnanimity, her penetration, vigilance, address, are allowed to merit the highest praises, and appear not to have been surpassed by any person that ever filled a throne: a conduct less vigorous, less imperious, more sincere, more indulgent to her people, would have been requisite to form a perfect character. By the force of her mind, she controlled all her more active and stronger qualities, and prevented them from running into excess Her heroism was exempt from temerity, her frugality from avarice, her friendship from partiality, her active temper from turbulency and a vain ambition. She guarded not herself with equal care or equal success from lesser infirmities; the rivalship of beauty, the desire of admiration, the jealousy of love, and the sallies of anger.

The most admirable part of Elizabeth's character was her wonderful capacity for government; by which, during a long reign of near half a century, she maintained her popularity, encouraged learning, commerce, and the arts; and, by her economy, the wisdom of her ministers, the bravery of her warriors, raised the glory of the country, without burdening her people, to an unexampled height. Her greatest defects were dissimulation, her personal vanity, her intolerance in matters of religion, and the arbitrary maxims of her government. To all these, something might be said in extenuation, and ascribed to her sex, the spirit of the age, and the station she occupied. In short, though her chastity is *very much to be suspected*, she was a great princess; and ruled her people more like a king, and was more entitled to their gratitude, than some of her effeminate successors, who, with the exterior of men, show little pretensions to the character.

She was much addicted to swearing, and the vehemency and ardency of her mind is strikingly evinced in some of her speeches and letters. After the defeat of Philip's Invincible Armada, in a speech to the Commons she says, "But I am informed that when he attempted this last invasion, some upon the sea-coast forsook their towns, fled up higher into the country, and left all naked and exposed to his entrance; but I swear unto you, *by God*, if I knew those persons, or may know of any that shall do so hereafter, I will make them feel what it is to be fearful in so urgent a cause."

Her epistle to a bishop of Ely is still more terrific. It is in these words: "Proud Prelate, I understand you are backward in complying with your agreement; but I would have you know that I, who made you what you are, can unmake you; and if you do not forthwith fulfil your engagement, by God, I will immediately unfrock you.——Your's, as you demean yourself, ELIZABETH." The bishop, it seems, had promised to exchange some part of the land belonging to the see for an equivalent, and did so; but it was in consequence of this epistle.

The example set by the sovereign had some effect on the people, and swearing became fashionable through the nation. "If they speake," writes the puritanical Stubbs, "but three or four words, yet they must be interlarded with a bloudie oath or two." In one of our oldest plays, Gammer Gurton's Needle, a clown of not more than common brutality, swears by "*Cog's bones*," "*soule*," "*harte*," "*heade*," "*sacramente*," "*woundes*," and "*malisom*," all within two short scenes.

But the manners of the people still continued coarse and barbarous, as we may learn from their amusements. Besides pitching the bar, shooting with the broad arrow, playing at racket, quoits, nine holes, and leaping hedges and ditches, their most favourite diversions were baiting different animals. Heutzner, after describing the baiting of bulls and bears, adds "To this entertainment there follows that of whipping a blinded bear; which is performed by five or six men, standing circularly with whips, which they exercise on him without mercy, as he cannot escape from them, because of his chain. He defends himself with all his force and skill, throwing down those that come within his reach, and are not active enough to get out of it; and tearing their whips out of their hands, and breaking them. At this spectacle, and every where else," he adds, "the English are constantly smoking tobacco."

A more harmless, but not more rational recreation is recorded by the same writer.

They are "vastly fond of great noises that fill the ear, such as the firing of cannons, drums, &c. So that it is common for a number of them that have got a glass in their heads, to go up some belfry, and ring the bells for hours together, for the sake of exercise." The queen was equally attached to noise and uproar. She used to listen, during her meals, to "twelve trumpets and two kettle drums, which, together with fifes, cornets, and side-drums, made the hall ring for half an hour together."

While speaking of the amusements of the Elizabethan age, we might as well add a few more particulars. Justing in the lists, pageants, and shows, hunting, hawking, &c. formed the chief diversions of the more polished ranks in society. Plays were just getting into vogue; and regular dramatic pieces had superseded the mysteries and moralities founded on scriptural subjects. The earliest patent for acting comedies, tragedies, &c. is dated 1574; and such was the rapid progress of this rational amusement, that, early in the next century, at least fifteen licensed theatres were open to the inhabitants of London. The best plays, especially those of Shakspeare, were acted chiefly at the Blackfriars theatre, or at the Globe, on the south side of the Thames. A flag was hoisted on the front of each theatre. The price of admission to the best place, a shilling; to the inferior ones, a penny or two-pence. The critics sat on the stage, and were furnished with pipes and tobacco. The curtain drew not up, but was drawn back on each side. From the raillery of Sir Philip Sydney, it is doubtful whether there was a change of scenes. It is probable this deficiency was supplied by the names of places being written in large characters on the stage; stating for instance, that this was a wood, a garden, Thebes, Rome, or Alexandria, as the case might be. The stage was lighted with branches like those hung in churches. Before the exhibition began, three flourishes, soundings, or pieces of music were played; and music was likewise played between the acts. The instruments chiefly used were trumpets, cornets, and hautboys. Perukes and masques formed part of the stage paraphernalia; and the female parts, for the first hundred years, were performed by young men. One dramatic piece composed the whole entertainment; and the hours of acting began about one in the afternoon, and lasted generally about two hours. The audience, before the performance began, amused themselves with reading or playing at cards; others drank ale or smoked tobacco. For some time plays were acted on Sundays only; after 1579, they were acted on Sundays and other days, indiscriminately.

Such was the state of the stage at the commencement of the seventeenth century; having, for its foes, the puritans, a race of men stern, inflexible, and unforgiving, it flourished with difficulty; and by unceasing obloquy and reproach was first pursued into unpopularity, and at length to annihilation.

The beard was on the wane in this reign. In the reign of Mary it throve luxuriantly; those of bishop Gardiner and cardinal Pole, in their portraits, are represented of an uncommon size: it gradually dwindled down into the mustachios or whiskers. The hair was cut close on the top of the head, and grew long on the sides. Showy young men wore jewels in the ears, and sometimes ribbands. The hat had superseded the woollen cap and hood. The crown of the hat was made high, narrowed towards the top, and had sometimes a rich hat-band, adorned by goldsmiths' work and precious stones, which, with a feather and scarlet cloak, marked the man of distinction.

Coaches and *caroches* are both mentioned as being in use. They were first introduced by the earl of Arundel. Before that time the queen, on public occasions, rode behind her chamberlain. The novelty and convenience of the plan, soon brought them into general practice by people of fortune. Hackney coaches were not known till fifty years afterwards. Spoons and knives were as old as Edward the Confessor; but the fork was not yet discovered, and at every meal the fingers were used to keep the meat steady, and convey it to the mouth. Table cloths were made of very valuable linen. Mr. Otter, in Ben Jonson's Silent Woman, mentions a damask table cloth which cost

eighteen pounds. The good man of the house sat at the upper end of the board, "with a fayre napkyn layde before him on the table, *lyke a master.*"

Among the customs of the sixteenth century, it must not be omitted to mention that of smoking, or as it was then called *taking* tobacco. It was first introduced into Europe by the Spaniards, and reached England in 1586, imported by sir Walter Raleigh's settlers in Virginia. Sir Walter himself was one of its first admirers, but preserved great secrecy in his attachment. Owing to a ridiculous accident the foible was discovered; and it then became general. Sir Walter, as the story is related, was enjoying his pipe in solitude, forgetful that he had ordered his servant to attend him with a goblet of ale. The faithful domestic suddenly entering his study, and finding, as he thought, his master's brains on fire, and evaporating in smoke and flame through his nostrils, did his utmost to extinguish the conflagration, by emptying the goblet on sir Walter's head. When many years after the gallant knight's fate drew near, he smoked two pipes publicly on the scaffold. Stowe, a few years after the introduction of tobacco, wrote of it; he calls it that "*stinking weed,*" and says it was commonly used by most men and *many* women.

Fynes Moryson, in his Itinerary, bestows great praise on English inns. He says, "as soone as a passenger comes to an inne, the servants run to him, and one takes his horse and walkes him till he be cold, then rubs him down and gives him meat, another servant gives the passenger his private chamber and kindles his fire; the third pulls off his bootes and makes them cleane; then the host or hostess visits him, and if he will eate with the hoste, or at a common table with others, his meale will cost him six-pence, or in some places four-pence; but if he will eat in his chamber, he commands what meat he will according to his appetite; yea the kitchen is open to him to order the meate to be dressed as he likes beste. After having eaten what he pleases, he may, with credit, set by a part for next day's breakfast. His bill will then be written for him, and should he object to any charge the host is ready to alter it."

After such a copious description of the manners and customs of the sixteenth century, we have no room to treat on the political character of Elizabeth's reign. The arbitrary principles of her government being followed by her successors, they may be properly described in a subsequent reign, when an unseasonable attempt to enforce them terminated fatally to the sovereign.

XXIV.—JAMES I.

And Jamie thought himself a bonny king, and a mickle wise mon. Howbeit he was a fool and a pedant.

But the spirit of flattery went forth in the land, and the great men and the bishops offered incense unto him, saying,

O most *sacred* king! Thou art wiser than the children of men! thou speakest by the spirit of God! there has been none equal to thee before thee, neither will any arise after thee like unto thee.

Thus they abused him daily with lying and fulsome adulation.

And the ear of James was tickled therewith, and he was puffed up, and he thought himself wise; whereupon he began to dispute with the doctors, and to decide controversies, and to write books; and the world was undeceived.

Howbeit a new translation of the bible was set on foot in his reign, and it was executed with great care and exactness, and the same is read by the people unto this day.

In this reign also the two kingdoms of England and Scotland were united together, and he gave unto them the name of Great Britain; and the two nations became as one people.

Moreover he issued a proclamation to enforce the act of uniformity; and of ten thousand pious ministers that dispensed the word, but forty and nine were found that did not conform.

And the ear of James was tickled.] Hume says the next occupation of the king was entirely according to his heart's content. He was employed in dictating magisterially to an assembly of divines concerning points of faith and discipline, and in receiving the applauses of these *holy men* for his superior zeal and learning.

Howbeit a new translation of the Bible—executed with great care.] It was first translated by Wickliff, about the year 1370, but never printed; though there remain manuscript copies in several libraries. Several other translations were executed by Tindal, Coverdale, and others. James's translation is considered the most correct, though it abounds in many errors, and is not implicitly to be relied upon as an accurate version of the original. The translation was confided to fifty-six of the most learned men of both universities; and occupied three years in the completion. They were divided into classes; each class executing a portion of the work. When it was completed, it was submitted to another deputation of learned men, who spent nine months in the revision; receiving thirty pounds a week each from the Stationers' company. See Rees's Cyclopædia art. *Bible*. Mr. Bellamy is publishing a new translation; which has been much calumniated by those prostituted supporters of error and abuse, the *Quarterly Reviewers*. They consider, with some reason, the subject had better not be agitated. They foresee clearly, no doubt, that it might tend to unsettle the faith of many well meaning people, who, though now stedfast believers, might be at a loss what to believe, if a *faithful* translation was given of the *divine original*.

In this reign also the two kingdoms—united together.] The union did not take place till a century after. It was effected by the 6. Anne, A. D 1707, when twenty-five articles were agreed upon by the parliaments of both nations. James was anxious to effect an union of the two kingdoms, but it failed from the jealousy of the English parliament, who were apprehensive of the king's too great attachment to his ancient subjects. Their complaisance for him, however, went so far as to appoint forty-four English to meet with thirty-one Scottish commissioners, to deliberate concerning the terms of an union; but with no powers for its establishment. See Hume, vol. vi. p. 25.

And the forty and nine who had consciences were suspended; but the nine thousand fifty and one who had no conscience, were continued as faithful ministers of the word.

And it came to pass in the third year of his reign, that the pope and the devil laid their heads together, and contrived a most grievous plot.

And the pope said unto the devil, Wherewith shall we destroy him? And the devil said unto the pope, I will do it with gunpowder.

Howbeit the wisdom of James was greater than the wisdom of the pope and the devil, and he smelled out their plot, and prevented it.

And James was glad that he was alive, therefore he appointed the fifth day of the month November as a day of thanksgiving for ever. And bonfires are made, and squibs and crackers are let off in the streets, in derision of the devil and his gunpowder plot unto this day.

Now James the king was of a sociable and loving nature, and he could not be without a bosom friend, with whom he might communicate his *internos sensus*, and upon whose shoulders he might sometimes lay a burthen, which he was not willing to bear himself.

Howbeit the wisdom of James—smelled out the plot.] The plot was discovered from one of the conspirators having sent an anonymous letter to lord Monteagle, conjuring him not to attend the house on the day the explosion was intended to take place. This communication excited suspicion. But it was not James but lord Salisbury who "*smelled*" out the plot; the latter, however, like an artful courtier gave his master the credit of the whole discovery. The conspirators had placed thirty-six barrels of gunpowder in the vaults under the two houses of parliament, covering them up with faggots and billets; and to avoid suspicion threw open the doors as if it contained nothing dangerous. About midnight sir Thomas Knevet, a justice of peace, was sent with proper attendance; and before the door of the vault finding Fawkes, who had just finished all his preparations, he immediately seized him; and turning over the faggots discovered the powder. The matches and every thing proper for setting fire to the train were found in Fawke's pocket; who, finding his guilt apparent, expressed the utmost regret that he had lost the opportunity of firing the powder, and sweetening his own death by that of his enemies. Before the council he displayed the same intrepid firmness, mixed even with scorn and disdain; refusing to discover his accomplices, and showing no concern but for the failure of his enterprise. This obstinacy lasted two or three days, but being confined to the Tower, and the rack being shown to him, his courage failed, and he made a full discovery of all the conspirators.

Wherefore he cast an eye of favour upon sir Robert Carr, a gentleman of Scotland, of such exquisite beauty, and so delicate a composure of body, as if nature had framed him on purpose to be a king's favourite.

And the king loved him, and he pleased the king; nor was any man partaker of the royal influence like unto him; all matters of grace and favour passing from the king by him, insomuch that the queen was jealous.

Moreover it came to pass, that on Easter-Monday, in the year 1611, for his great service done unto the king, he was created viscount Rochester; on the two and twentieth of April, 1612, he was sworn a privy counsellor; on the fourth of November, 1613, he was created earl of Somerset; and on the tenth of July following, he was made lord chamberlain; so true is that saying,

Improbe amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis?

But this sunshine of fortune lasted not long. Whether the king

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Wherefore he cast an eye of favour upon sir Robert Carr.] Hume says, "All his natural accomplishments consisted in good looks: all his acquired abilities in an easy air and graceful demeanour." His ignorance was so extreme, that James himself instructed him in the rudiments of the Latin tongue, and the principles of grammar. Such are the objects on which kings sometimes lavish their confidence and esteem!

But this sunshine of fortune—sir Thomas Overbury by poison.] There is no doubt of the favourite having despatched this minister by poison. The facts are these. Somerset had married the countess of Essex, a profligate woman, who, having conceived an aversion to her former husband, had, though they had lain together, refused him the nuptial pleasures. She obtained a divorce, on the pretence that he was incapable of fulfilling the conjugal duties; a charge which he admitted was true, in respect of the countess, though he was not conscious of such an infirmity in respect of any other woman. After her divorce, Overbury had done all in his power to persuade Somerset from marrying her; and some of his conversations on this subject, the favourite had the weakness to reveal to this abandoned woman. She vowed revenge, and had sufficient influence over Somerset to prevail upon him to join in her vindictive project: Overbury being confined in the Tower, on some false accusations, they determined to carry him off secretly by poison. Fruitless attempts were made by weak poisons; but, at last, they gave him so sudden and violent a dose, that the symptoms were apparent to every one who approached him. He was buried with great precipitation; and though a strong suspicion existed of the cause of his death, full proof of the crime was not obtained till some years after.

An apothecary's apprentice, who had been employed in making up the poisons, having retired to Flushing, began to talk very freely of the whole secret; and the affair, at last, came to the ears of Trumball, the king's envoy in the Low Countries. By his means, sir Ralph Winwood, secretary of state, was informed, and he immediately

grew weary of him, as not being so agreeable as when he was first taken into favour, or whether the machinations of the jealous queen wrought his destruction, we cannot say; but being suspected of contriving the death of sir Thomas Overbury by poison, he was arraigned and condemned for the same; and though, through the clemency of the king, his life was spared, he was never after suffered to see the king's face, nor to come near his court.

Howbeit the king could not be long without an *alter idem;* wherefore he took unto himself a beautiful youth named George Villiers; and he loaded him with honours, and used him in all respects like unto the other.

And James believed himself a great king, and conceived high notions of the royal prerogative; insomuch that he looked upon the parliament as a troublesome and unnecessary thing; and thought it extremely hard, that so great a king should be bound by the laws of the land, or his coronation oath, or that he should be obliged to call

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carried the intelligence to James. The king, alarmed at the enormous guilt of the favourite, sent for sir Edward Coke, chief-justice, and earnestly recommended to him a rigorous and unbiassed scrutiny. This injunction was strictly observed; the whole labyrinth of guilt was unravelled; the lesser criminals, sir Jervis Elvis, lieutenant of the Tower, Franklin, Weston, Mrs. Turner, were first tried and condemned: Somerset and his countess were afterwards found guilty; the former received the punishment due to their crime; but the weak king bestowed a pardon on the principals, Somerset and his wife. After many years confinement, James restored them to liberty, and conferred on them a pension, with which they retired, and languished out old age in infamy and obscurity. It is related, their guilty loves were turned into the most deadly hatred, and they passed many years in the same house without any intercourse or correspondence with each other.

Howbeit the king could not be long without an alter idem—George Villiers.] This youth had just returned from his travels, and, like his predecessor, was remarkable for a handsome person, genteel air, and fashionable apparel. At a comedy he was placed full in James's eye, and, in the same instant, engaged his attentions and affection. Ashamed of this sudden attachment, the *amorous* monarch endeavoured to conceal his partiality for the handsome stranger; and he made many efforts to fix him in his service, without seeming to desire it. But his passion was not to be subdued, and, in the end, he bestowed the office of cupbearer on Villiers. The fall of Somerset opened the way for new honours; and, in a short time, he was made viscount Villiers, earl, marquis, and duke of Buckingham, chief-justice in Eyre, and lord high admiral of England. His mother obtained the title of countess of Buckingham. His brother was created viscount Purbeck; and a numerous brood of relations were all pushed up into credit and authority.—The Grenville and Buckingham families still continue to hold the sinecure office of chief-justice in Eyre, worth about £3000 a year.

a parliament to make laws; when he might do it alone by his absolute power.

Moreover he approved the book of doctor Blackwood, which laid it down as a principle, that the English were all slaves by reason of the Norman conquest.

With these notions he poisoned himself and his son, and laid the foundation of those troubles which ended in the ruin of his family.

And it came to pass in these days, that a certain impostor, named Richard Hadock, pretended to preach in his sleep, in such sort, that though he were called aloud, or stirred and pulled by the hands or feet, yet he seemed not to hear or to feel.

And he continued to do this in the presence of many persons who resorted to hear him; insomuch that in a short time his fame was spread through the land by the name of the *sleeping preacher*, and many were brought to believe that these his mighty preachings were by inspiration from heaven.

Tantum religio potuit suadere foolorum!

But the king discovered the cheat, and commanded him in all places to declare himself an impostor.

Howbeit the race of reverend sleepers continue, and infest the land with large long-laboured volumes of heavy and somniferous lumber unto this day.

With these notions he poisoned himself and his son.] The king and the parliament appear to have been equally ignorant of the nature of the constitution. Toby Matthews, a member, was banished by an order of council, upon the direction of the king, merely because he had changed his religion. The Commons quietly acquiesced in this outrage, and admitted another member in his place. On another occasion, James commanded them as an "ABSOLUTE KING," as he styled himself, to hold a conference with the lords; and added, "that all their privileges were derived from his grant, and hoped that they would not turn them against him." In a proclamation, he enjoins the people not to choose any outlaw for their representative; and, he adds, "If any person take upon him the place of knight, citizen, or burgess, not being duly elected, according to the statutes and laws in that case provided, and according to *the purport, effect, and true meaning of this our proclamation*, then every person so offending, to be *fined and imprisoned for the same*." That is, a new crime is created merely by the king's proclamation, and a person might be fined and imprisoned without judge, trial, or jury, at the arbitrary pleasure of the monarch. Truly this was despotic enough. But in the next reign, we shall see both the prerogatives of the sovereign and the privileges of parliament better defined.

And it came to pass in the seventeenth year of the reign of king James, that the wife of his bosom fell sick, and her sickness was unto death.

Then James the king was sore troubled, and he put on sackcloth and bewailed himself; and so great was his sorrow, that he spake not, neither did he eat for many days.

Howbeit he was a wise man, and he said within himself, why should I be any longer troubled, or why should my spirit be sunk within me? Our tears avail not to the dead, neither do they hear our cries.

Sorrow dimmeth the eyes, and grief withereth the countenance, but the smile of a friend reviveth the heart.

So the king arose, and washed himself, and did eat bread.

Now the rest of the acts of king James, and his wisdom, and his learning, and all the books that he wrote, behold thou mayest find them in the chandler's shops unto this day.

And James slept with his fathers, after he had reigned over England twenty and two years, and Charles his son reigned in his stead.

And it came to pass—the wife of his bosom.] He was only once married, to Anne of Denmark, who died in 1619, in the forty-fifth year of her age; a woman eminent neither for her virtues nor vices. James had six children by her, but only two survived, Charles and Elizabeth. He had never any illegitimate children; and Hume says, "he never discovered any tendency, even the smallest, towards a passion for any mistress."

Now the rest of the acts of king James—and all the books that he wrote.]—James wrote a book on the law of free monarchies; an answer to cardinal Perron; and another work, concerning witches and apparitions, in the existence of which he was a sincere believer. Hume, who endeavours to vindicate his literary reputation, asks, If he did compose a book on Revelations, and proved the Pope to be Anti-Christ, may not a similar reproach be extended to the famous Napier, and even to Newton, at a time when learning was much more advanced than during the reign of James? From the grossness of superstition, we may infer the ignorance of an age; but never should pronounce concerning the folly of an individual, from his admitting popular errors consecrated by the appearance of religion.—James dedicated one of his books to *Jesus Christ*.

APPLICATION.

Of James, Hume says, many virtues, it must be owned, he was possessed of, but scarce any of them pure, or free from the contagion of the neighbouring vices. His generosity bordered on profusion, his learning on pedantry, his pacific disposition on pusillanimity, his wisdom on cunning, his friendship on light fancy and boyish fondness. His capacity was considerable, but fitter to discourse on general maxims, than

to conduct any intricate business. Awkward in his person, and ungainly in his manners, he was ill qualified to command respect; partial and undiscerning in his affections, he was little fitted to acquire general love. Exposed to ridicule from his vanity, but exempt from hatred by his freedom from pride and arroganee; it may be said of his character, that all his good qualities were sullied by weakness, and all his bad ones embellished by humanity.

James was greatly attached to the established church; and frequently inculcated the maxim, no BISHOP, no KING. The bishops, to manifest their gratitude, used to cajole him with the most ridiculous, and even blasphemous praise. The King having distinguished himself at the religious conference at Hampton-court, the archbishop of Canterbury said, that "*undoubtedly his majesty spake by the special assistance of God's spirit!*"

He was so attached to controversial divinity, that he erected a college at Chelsea, for the entertainment of twenty persons, who should be solely employed in refuting the papists and puritans. And this was done, when all the efforts of the great Bacon could not procure an establishment for the cultivation of natural philosophy.

Toleration had yet made little progress, and this and every other reign since the Reformation had been disgraced by sanguinary executions on account of religious differences. Two Arians, under the name of heretics, were punished by fire during the pacific reign of James. Stowe says, that they were offered their pardon at the stake, if they would merit it by a recantation. A madman, who called himself the Holy Ghost, was condemned to the same punishment. Twenty pounds a month could be levied on all who frequented not the established worship. Such was the state of religious liberty: let us now say a word on the manners, revenue, and commerce of this period.

The expenses of the great consisted in pomp and show, and a numerous retinue. Lord Bacon has remarked, that the English nobility, in his time, maintained a larger retinue of servants than the nobility of any other nation, except the Polanders. The Earl of Nottingham, in his embassy to Spain, was attended by 500 persons. The Earl of Hertford, in that to Brussels, carried 300 gentlemen along with him.

The love of a country life still continued to prevail more in England than any other country; but the increase of arts, commerce, and social intercourse, was just beginning to produce an inclination for the pleasures and luxuries of the city. James discouraged, as much as possible, this alteration of manners. "He was wont," says Lord Bacon, "to be very earnest with the country gentlemen to go from London and "return to their country seats. And sometimes he would say thus to them: *Gentle-*"*men, at London, you are like ships in a sea, which show like nothing; but in your* "*country villages you are like ships in a river, which look like great things.*"

The whole of the King's revenue amounted to only £450,000 a year. Of this sum £80,000 was the produce of the crown lands, and £190,000 of customs. No inconsiderable source of James's revenue arose from the sale of titles. Within six weeks after his entrance into the kingdom, he is computed to have bestowed knighthood on no fewer than two hundred and thirty-seven persons. Titles of all kinds became so common, that they almost ceased to be marks of distinction, and many of the persons on whom they were conferred, entirely unknown. To ridicule this new-fledged nobility, a pasquinade was fixed on St. Paul's, in which an art was promised to be taught, very necessary to assist frail memories in retaining the names of the new nobility.

In the year 1583, there was a general review of all the men in England capable of bearing arms, and these were found to amount, according to Sir Walter Raleigh, to 1,172,000 men. This account may be presumed somewhat inaccurate. In the reign of Elizabeth, the whole population had been estimated at four millions.

London, at this time, was almost entirely built of wood, and no doubt presented a very ugly appearance. The Earl of Arundel first introduced the general practice of brick buildings. The size of London increased greatly in the seventeenth century. From 1600, it doubled every forty years, and consequently, in 1680, it contained four times as many inhabitants as in the beginning of the century.

Greenland was discovered during this period, and the whale-fishery was carried on with considerable success. A company was erected to discover the north-west passage, and many fruitless attempts were made for that purpose. But what chiefly signalises this reign is the commencement of the English colonies in America.

XXV.—CHARLES I.

And Charles was twenty and five years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England twenty and two years and ten months, and his mother's name was Anne.

And he was a pious and religious prince, and wrote many godly books; hymns also and prayers, and sundry meditations were the works of his hands.

Howbeit he did that which was evil in the sight of the Lord, in following the steps of his father, and aspiring to absolute power.

And the anger of the Lord was kindled against him, and he caused a spirit of discontent to go forth among the people, and they came unto the king and besought him, saying:

Howbeit he did that which was evil—aspiring to absolute power.] Nothing manifests more clearly the arbitrary principles of Charles, than the countenance he gave to the infamous doctrines of Sibthorpe and Manwaring, two time-serving divines, who openly inculcated *passive obedience*, representing the whole authority of the state, as belonging to the King alone, and all limitations of law as seditious and impious. One of Manwaring's sermons was printed and distributed at the special command of the King. This sermon taught, that though property was lodged in the subject, yet whenever any exigence occurred, all property was transferred to the sovereign; that the *consent of parliament* was not necessary for the imposition of taxes; and that the *divine laws* required the compliance with every demand, how irregular soever, which the prince should make upon his subjects. No Englishman, worthy of the name, can deny, that a king who had imbibed these maxims, and endeavoured by every species of hypocrisy, fraud, and artifice to establish them, was not only unfit to reign, but deserved to lose his head. The Commons impeached Manwaring for his doctrines. He was sentenced to be imprisoned, fined a thousand pounds, suspended during three years, be incapable of holding any ecclesiastical dignity, and that his book be called in and burnt. No sooner was the session ended than this fellow received a pardon, and was promoted to a living of considerable value; some years after Charles promoted him to the see of St. Asaph.—We have many Sibthorpes and Manwarings at this day; and hence we may learn, that bestowing a valuable living on *Parson Hay* for his *services*, instead of placing him in the pillory for his crimes, is not without precedent.

Most gracious sovereign! incline thine ears, we beseech thee, unto the voice of thy people, and let their cry come unto thee: behold we are a free people, we and our fathers have been freemen unto this day.

Wherefore now then are we oppressed with arbitrary power, with forced loans, with tonnage and poundage, with ship-money, and with divers taxes imposed on us without the authority of parliament?

Wherefore is the yoke of bondage laid upon us? a yoke which we nor our fathers were able to bear.

Howbeit this remonstrance pleased not the king, neither was he moved therewith, except unto wrath; moreover he dissolved the parliament, and continued in his evil ways.

Then the anger of the people waxed great, and they said amongst themselves, The king is ill advised, his counsellors are naught; let us remove the wicked from before the king, and his throne shall be established in righteousness.

So they accused Villiers, duke of Buckingham, who was the king's prime favourite and chief minister, of divers crimes and misdemeanors; namely, That he engrossed into his hands by evil means a great number of offices and employments, some whereof could hardly be executed by a single person: That he favoured and promoted the worship of Rome: That he neglected to guard the seas and protect the merchants: That he constrained several persons to purchase titles of honour, particularly the lord Robartes of Truro, whom he enforced to pay ten thousand pounds for the title of baron: That he procured to his kindred and allies, and other unworthy persons, many titles and honours without their having done the state any service: With divers notorious crimes and heinous offences.

So they accused Villiers.] Besides the charges here enumerated, the favourite was accused of having extorted ten thousand pounds from the East-India Company; o having confiscated some goods belonging to French merchants; and of having administered physic to the late king without acquainting his physicians. He was also suspected of strongly favouring the catholics. His mother, who had great influence over him, was a professed catholic; and his wife was not free from suspicion.

Wherefore they most humbly besought the king, even for his own honour and the honour of Almighty God, for the safety and welfare of his kingdom, and for the love which as a kind father he bore unto his people, that he would be graciously pleased to remove this person from access to his sacred presence, and that he would not balance this one man with all these things: protesting, that until this great man was removed from intermeddling with the affairs of state, they were out of all hopes of any good success.

Nevertheless their petition was rejected.

Moreover the king was exceeding wroth, and he commanded the petition to be consumed with fire, and all the copies thereof to be destroyed. And he protected his favourite from the public rage.

Nevertheless their petition was rejected.] Obstinacy, falsehood, evasion, hypocrisy, and a treasonable design against the constitution may be justly imputed to Charles. His *obstinacy* was manifested in retaining an odious minion about his person, whose pernicious councils had justly rendered him obnoxious to the nation: his *falsehood* in making a solemn promise to enforce the penal laws against the catholics, and redress the grievances of the Commons; neither of which he performed: his *evasion*, when the memorable PETITION OF RIGHT was presented for his acceptance, and when, instead of the usual clear and concise form by which a bill is confirmed or rejected, he made a mere general declaration of *his pleasure* that "right be done according to the laws and customs of the realm:" his *hypocrisy* in attempting to avail himself of religious prejudices to support his insidious attacks on civil liberty, as shown in his support of Sibthorpe and Manwaring: his *treasonable* designs on the constitution in the arbitrary exaction of loans and ship-money; and in endeavouring to exercise an authority, limited by law, without any law whatever. To these charges against the *blessed Martyr*, as the hypocrites call him, it may be added that his conduct was marked by personal malice, by weakness, insolence, pride, and a wanton spirit of provocation. It were easy to cite instances; two members of the house, sir Dudley Digges and sir John Elliot, who had been employed as managers of the impeachment against Buckingham, were thrown into prison. The Commons, the most virtuous house of commons that ever assembled in England, immediately declared that they would proceed no further in business till they had immediate satisfaction in their privileges. Charles alleged that these members had dropped certain seditious expressions in their accusation of the favourite. Upon inquiry it was found no such expressions had been used.—His insolence, weakness, and pride, were shown in adopting a more stately style in his messages to the Commons, and threatening them, if they did not furnish him supplies, he should try *new counsels*. His wanton spirit of provocation may be instanced in this; the Earl of Suffolk, chancellor of the university of Cambridge, dying, the favourite, though lying under impeachment, was by means of court influence chosen in his place. The Commons justly complained of this affront; but the more to enrage them, the weak and insolent tyrant, wrote a letter to the university, extolling the Duke, and giving them thanks for his election. See *Hume*, vol. vi. ch. 50.

Howbeit he escaped not the hand of justice: for the anger of the lord was kindled against him, and he stirred up the zeal of Felton, the lieutenant, who smote him to the heart that he died.

Howbeit he escaped not the hand of justice— Felton, the lieutenant.] In motives and character, there appears some resemblance betwixt the case of Felton and that of *Louvel* in his assassination of the Duke de Berri. Both appear to have been actuated by views of public utility rather than personal animosity. The resemblance is so striking, it may not be amiss to transcribe Hume's account of Felton. There was one Felton, says he, of a good family, but of an ardent melancholic temper, who had served under the Duke as lieutenant. His captain being killed in the retreat at the isle of Rhe, Felton had applied for the company, and when disappointed he threw up his commission, and retired in disgust from the army. While private resentment was boiling in his sullen and unsociable mind, he heard the nation resound with complaints against the Duke; and he met with the remonstrance of the Commons in which his enemy was represented as the cause of every national grievance and as the great enemy of the public. *Religious fanaticism* farther inflamed these vindictive reflections, and he fancied that he should do Heaven acceptable service if he despatched this dangerous foe to religion and his country. Full of these views he arrived at Portsmouth, and watched an opportunity for effecting his purpose. BUCKINGHAM having been engaged in conversation with some Frenchmen, drew towards the door, and in that passage turning to speak to Sir Thomas Fryer, a colonel in the army, he was on the sudden, over Sir Thomas's shoulder, struck upon the breast with a knife. Without uttering other words than, THE VILLAIN HAS KILLED ME; in the same moment pulling out the knife, he breathed his last.

No man had seen the blow, nor the person who gave it. Near the door was found a hat, in the inside of which was found a paper, containing four or five lines of that remonstrance of the Commons, which declared Buckingham an enemy to the kingdom; and under these lines was a short ejaculation, or attempt towards a prayer. It was easily concluded that this hat belonged to the assassin, but the difficulty still remained, WHO THAT PERSON SHOULD BE?

In this hurry a man without a hat was seen walking very composedly before the door. One crying out, HERE IS THE FELLOW WHO KILLED THE DUKE, every body ran to ask, WHICH IS HE? The man very sedately answered I AM HE. The more furious immediately rushed upon him with drawn swords; others more deliberate defended and protected him: he himself, with open arms, calmly and cheerfully exposed his breast to the sword of the most enraged.

Being carried into a private room, it was thought proper so far to dissemble, as to tell him that Buckingham was only grievously wounded, but not without hopes of recovery. FELTON smiled, and told them that the Duke he knew full well had received a blow, which had terminated all their hopes. When asked at whose instigation he had performed the horrid deed? he replied that they need not trouble themselves in that inquiry; that no man living had credit enough to dispose him to such an action, that he had not even entrusted his purpose to any one; that the resolution proceeded only from himself, and the impulse of his own conscience; and that his motives would appear if his hat were found; for that believing he should perish in the attempt, he had there taken care to explain them.

CHARLES urged that FELTON should be put to the torture, under pretence of extorting from him a discovery of his accomplices. But the Judges declared, that though that practice had formerly been very usual, it was altogether illegal. So much more exact reasoners, Hume observes, had they become, with regard to law, from the jealous scruples of the House of Commons.

And it came to pass in these days, that great troubles arose in England on account of religion: many, being smitten with the tinsel beauties of the church of Rome, went a whoring after her gods, and gave up their hearts unto the lusts thereof.

And forasmuch as many tokens of his love appeared, it was thought that Laud the archbishop was corrupted by her fornications, that he had bowed the knee unto her idols, and lusted in his heart after her abominations.

Certain it is, he was very punctual in observing all the superstitious gestures, the bowings, the washings, the vestments, and all the painted ornaments in which the scarlet whore delighteth.

Certain it is he was very punctual—the superstitious gestures.] A court lady, daughof the Earl of Devonshire, having turned catholic, was asked by Laud the reason of her conversion; "It's chiefly," said she, "because I hate to travel in a crowd." The meaning of this expression being demanded, she replied, "I perceive your grace and many others are making haste to Rome, and therefore to prevent my being crowded I have gone before you." Though Laud might not adopt the doctrinal part, he was greatly attached to the genius and ceremonies of the Romish faith: the same profound respect to the priestly character, the same submission to creeds and decrees of synods and councils, the same pomp and ceremony in worship, and the same superstitious regard to postures, meats, and vestments.

As a specimen of the ridiculous ceremonies introduced by him, it may not be amiss to relate those performed at the consecration of St. Catharine church, where the bishop appears to have acquitted himself in his best manner.

On the bishop's approach to the west door of the church, a loud voice cried, "Open, open, ye everlasting doors, that the king of glory may enter in!" Immediately the doors of the church flew open and the bishop entered. Falling upon his knees, with eyes elevated and arms expanded, he uttered these words; "This place is holy, the ground is holy: in the name of the Father, Son, and Holy Ghost, I pronounce it holy."

Going towards the chancel, he several times took up from the floor some of the dust, and threw it in the air. When he approached with his attendants near to the communion table, he bowed frequently towards it. And on their return they went round the church, repeating as they marched along some of the psalms; and then said a form of prayer which concluded with these words: "We consecrate this church, and separate it unto thee as holy ground not to be profaned any more to common uses."

After this, the bishop, standing near the communion-table, solemnly pronounced many imprecations upon such as should afterwards pollute that holy place by musters of soldiers, or keeping in it profane law courts, or carrying burdens through it. On the conclusion of every curse, he bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say, Amen."

The imprecations being all piously finished, there were poured out a number of blessings upon such as had any hand in framing and building that sacred and beautiful edifice, and on such as had given, or should hereafter give to it any chalices,

And he drew many after him, and occasioned much trouble in the land, and much nonsense, and many trifling disputes.

Moreover he was suspected of debauching the king into this lewd amour, and imposing on his royal affections with the paint and patches of this inveigling harlot. Wherefore the people rose up against Laud, and in the fury of their zeal they put him to death.

Now these things were done that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet, Blessed is he that watcheth and keepeth his garments, lest he walk naked and they see his shame.

And it came to pass that the whole kingdom was possessed by two

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plate, ornaments, or utensils. At every benediction, he, in like manner, bowed towards the east, and cried, "Let all the people say, Amen."

Next the bishop preached a sermon, and then followed the consecration and administration of the sacrament, in the following manner:

As he approached the communion-table, he made many low reverences; and coming up to that part of the table where the bread and wine lay, he bowed exactly seven times. After the reading of many prayers, he approached the sacramental elements, and gently lifted up the corner of the napkin, where the holy bread was placed. When he spied the bread, he suddenly let fall the napkin, flew back two steps, bowed three several times towards the bread; then drew nigh again, opened the napkin, and bowed as before.

Next he laid his hand upon the cup, which had a cover upon it, and was filled with wine. He let go the cup, fell back, and bowed three times towards it. He approached again, lifted up the cover, and peeped into the cup. Seeing the wine, he let fall the cover, started back, and bowed as before. Last of all, he ate the bread and drank the wine, and gave them to others, and they did eat and drink. And many prayers being said, the solemnity of the consecration ended; and the walls, the floor, and roof were supposed to be sufficiently holy.

And it came to pass—the land involved in blood and confusion.] All the evils of the civil wars may be ascribed to the tyrannical, and it may be said infatuated measures of the King. During eleven years no parliament was assembled, and taxes were levied by the royal authority alone. In this way tonnage and poundage were levied. New impositions were laid on several species of merchandize. The Custom-house officers received orders from the council to enter into any house, warehouse, or cellar, to search any trunk or chest, in default of payment of the custom. A new tax was likewise imposed on cards, solely by the King's authority.

But what gave still more disgust than the illegal levy of taxes, was the horrible punishments inflicted by the court of Star-Chamber. PRYNNE, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, had written a book obnoxious to the court party. He was condemned to be put from the bar; to stand in the pillory in two places, Westminster and Cheapside; to lose both his ears, one in each place; to pay £5000 fine to the King; and to be imprisoned during life. Having written a second libel, he was sentenced to lose the remainder of his ears, banished to the Isle of Wight, and fined another £5000. ALLISON had only reported that the archbishop of York had incurred the King's displeasure, by asking for a limited toleration for the catholics, and an allowance to build some churches for the exercise of their religion. For this story on the archbishop, he was condemned to be fined £1000; to be committed to prison; to

evil spirits, the spirit of prelacy and the spirit of fanaticism. And the two spirits strove together with great fury, and the land was involved in blood and confusion.

be bound to his good behaviour during life; to be whipped; to be set in the pillory at Westminster, and three other towns in England. Robins, accused of being implicated in his offence, was condemned to a punishment equally severe. Burton, a divine, and Bastwicke, a physician, were tried before the same odious tribunal, for seditious and schismatical libels, and condemned to the same punishment as Prynne. Lilburne was accused before the Star-Chamber, of publishing and dispersing seditious pamphlets. He was ordered to be examined; but refused to take the oath usual in the Star-Chamber, namely, that he would answer interrogatories, though they might criminate himself. For this contempt, as it was called, he was condemned to be whipped, pilloried, and imprisoned. While he was whipped at the cart and stood on the pillory, he haranguned and declaimed violently against the tyranny of the government. From his pockets, also, he scattered pamphlets, said to be seditious, because they attacked the bishops. The Star-Chamber, which happened to be sitting at the time, ordered him to be immediately gagged. He ceased not, however, though both gagged and pilloried, to show, by his gestures, that if he had it in his power, he would still harangue them on the iniquity of his punishments.

We will only mention another instance of the Star-Chamber proceedings. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, a man of spirit and learning, a popular prelate, was fined £10,000; committed to the Tower during the King's pleasure, and suspended from his office. This severe punishment was inflicted merely to gratify the vengeance of Laud. But even this did not appease the haughty hypocrite; without commencing a new prosecution on the strangest pretence imaginable. To levy the above fine, some officers had been sent to seize all the furniture and books in the Bishop's palace of Lincoln; and in rummaging the house, they found in a corner some neglected letters, which had been thrown by as useless. These letters were written by one Osbaldistone, a schoolmaster, and were directed to Williams. Mention was there made of a LITTLE GREAT MAN; and in another passage, the same person was denominated a LITTLE URCHIN. These epithets were conjectured to apply to Laud, and on no better foundation, Williams was tried anew, and another fine levied on him of £8000. Osbaldistone was likewise brought to trial, and condemned to pay a fine of £5000, and have his ears nailed to the pillory before his own school.

Such were the cruelties practised under "*the blessed Martyr*," whose merited fate still continues every 30th January, to be deplored in our established church. But it was not merely the cruelties of the Star-Chamber, on account of libel, which drove the people into rebellion; an attempt was made to reduce the nation to the most degrading subjection to the nobility. A few anecdotes on this subject will still further illustrate the genius of "*the blessed Martyr's*" government. A waterman, belonging to a nobleman, having a squabble with a citizen about his fare, showed his badge, the crest of his master, which happened to be a *swan*; and thence insisted on better treatment from the citizen. But the other replied, carelessly, that he did not trouble his head about that *goose*. For this innocent and humorous observation, he was fined, as having opprobriously defamed the nobleman's crest, by calling the *swan* a *goose*, and was, in effect, reduced to beggary.

Sir Richard Grenville had thought himself ill used by the Earl of Suffolk in a law suit; and he was accused before the Star-Chamber of having said of that nobleman that he was a *base lord*. The evidence against him was somewhat lame; yet, for this slight offence, insufficiently proved, he was condemned to pay a fine of £8000; one half to the earl, and the other to the King.

Sir George Markham, following a chace where lord Darcey's huntsman was

evil spirits, the spirit of prelacy and the spirit of fanaticism. And the two spirits strove together with great fury, and the land was involved in blood and confusion.

Howbeit the spirit of fanaticism prevailed, and the king was discomfited and taken prisoner, and committed to the prison of Carisbrook-castle, in the isle of Wight.

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exercising his hounds, kept closer to the dogs than was thought proper by the huntsman, who besides other rudeness, gave him foul language, which sir George returned with a stroke of his whip. The fellow threatened to complain to his master. The knight replied, if his master should justify such insolence, he would serve him in the same manner, or words to that effect. Sir George was summoned before the star chamber, and fined £10,000. "So fine a thing," observes the historian, "was it in those days to be a lord."

Howbeit the spirit of fanaticism prevailed—Carisbrook castle.] The fanatics of this reign were divided into two classes, the PRESBYTERIANS and INDEPENDENTS. The Presbyterians were for throwing off the authority of the bishops, the abolition of the Liturgy, the retrenchment of ceremonies, and the limitation of the riches and authority of the priestly office. The enthusiasm of the Independents carried them still further; they were for the intire abolition of ecclesiastical government, disdained creeds and systems, neglected every ceremony, and contended for a complete levelling of all ranks and order. By zeal, hypocrisy, canting, fighting, and praying, the Independents obtained an entire ascendancy. In their general character, their pretensions to experience, grace, illapses of the spirit, and other trumpery doctrines, they appear to have had a strong resemblance to modern Methodists. There was, however, one important difference betwixt the two sects; while the Methodists seem either hostile or indifferent to civil liberty, the Independents were its strenuous advocates, even to the extent of republican institutions.

Oliver Cromwell, Sir Harry Vane, Nathaniel Fiennes, Oliver St John, were regarded as the leaders of the Independents. By their zeal, and that of their followers, the King was subdued and brought to the block After the fatal battle of Naseby, and the intire ruin of his party, Charles surrendered himself into the hands of the Scots, who, with the characteristic meanness of that nation, *sold* him to the Parliament. He was confined first at Holdenby; thence he was removed by Joyce, a methodist colonel of that day, to the parliamentary army, and finally, to the Isle of Wight.

The tyranny of Charles was succeeded by another still more arbitrary in the usurpations of the parliament, who now possessed the whole power of the state. At the commencement of the civil war, a *self-denying ordinance* passed, by which the members were restrained from holding any office civil or military. This was soon suffered to become obsolete, and the most lucrative offices were filled by the members. The taxes they imposed were intolerable; the sums levied far exceeding the burdens imposed in any former period; and what rendered it still more disgusting, no inconsiderable portion of the money was embezzled by the honourable house. The sum of £300,000, it is affirmed, they openly took and divided among themselves. The committees, to whom the management of different branches of the revenue were entrusted, never brought in their accounts, and had unlimited power to secrete whatever sums they pleased from the public treasury. These branches were needlessly multiplied, in order that greater numbers might participate of the plunder; the old method of keeping accounts in the Exchequer was abolished, and a new system, affording greater facilities for cheating, adopted. The excise, an odious tax, formerly unknown

Then Charles lift up his voice unto the Lord, saying, Judge me, O God, and plead my cause against an ungodly nation.

Mine enemies have pursued and overtaken me, but do thou deliver me out of the hand of the wicked, out of the hand of the unrighteous and cruel men: deliver me in thy righteousness, and cause me to escape; incline thine ear unto me and save me.

Cast me not off in the time of old age, forsake me not when my strength faileth.

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to the nation, was extended over provisions and the common necessaries of life. Near one half of the goods and chattels, and near one half of the lands, rents, and revenues of the kingdom had been sequestered.

The proceedings toward the Royalists appear to have been unnecessarily severe, and the parliament actuated more by a spirit of rapacity and revenge, than a desire of taking necessary measures for their own security against the intrigues of that party. To a great number of royalists all redress from their sequestrations were refused; and to the rest the remedy could only be obtained by paying large compositions, and subscribing the covenant which they abhorred. The fate of the episcopal clergy was still more severe. By a moderate computation it appears, that one half the clergy were turned out to beggary and want; merely for adhering to the civil and religious principles in which they had been educated. To renounce episcopacy and the liturgy, and to subscribe the covenant, were the only terms on which they could retain their benefices. At first parliament pretended to leave the sequestered clergy in possession of one-fifth of their revenues, but even this provision was never regularly paid.

But what tended still more to destroy the reputation of parliament, was the grievous tyranny of the country-committees. During the war, the discretionary power of these courts was excused from the plea of necessity, but the nation was reduced to despair when it saw neither end put to their duration, nor bounds to their authority. These tribunals could sequester, fine, imprison, and corporally punish, without law or remedy. In short, they were so many star-chambers, fortified with more plausible pretences, and armed with more unlimited powers.

If any thing could increase the indignation of the nation against the tyranny of the commons, it was the pretences by which the people were deluded and enslaved. The sanctified hypocrites, who called their oppressions the spoiling of the Egyptians, and their rigid severity the dominion of the elect, interlarded all their iniquities with long and fervent prayers, saved themselves from blushing by their pious grimaces, and exercised in the name of the Lord all their cruelty on men. Such being the character of this methodistical parliament, it is not surprising the nation saw without regret their power annihilated by Cromwell and the army. Cromwell, by one of those rough and decisive measures which signalized his character, excluded all those members by force who were opposed to his views. The way in which this business was accomplished was as follows: Colonel Pride, formerly a drayman, environed the house with two regiments; he seized in the passage forty-one members of the opposite party, and sent them to a low room which passed by the appellation of *hell*; whence they were afterwards carried to several inns. Above 160 members more were excluded, and none were allowed to enter but the most furious independents, and these did not exceed the number of fifty or sixty. This mode of reforming the parliament, passed under the name of *Colonel Pride's purge*. From this time we may date the dissolution of all legal government, and the establishment of a military government, at the head of which was Oliver Cromwell.

Mine enemies speak evil against me, and they that lay wait for my soul take counsel together, saying, God hath forsaken him, let us persecute and take him, for there is none to deliver him.

But let them be confounded and consumed that are adversaries to my soul, let them be covered with reproach and dishonour that seek my hurt.

Howbeit the prayer of Charles availed not: he was delivered up into the hands of his enemies; and they erected a new court of justice for the trial of the king, and they brought an accusation against him, saying,

He hath endeavoured to destroy the rights and liberties of the people, and to rule with an unlimited and tyrannical power; for which end he hath levied war against the parliament of England and the people thereof, and hath been the cause of all the blood which hath been shed in the land.

Now Charles denied the jurisdiction of this court, and demanded

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Now Charles denied the jurisdiction of this court.] The question of the right of the commons to try the King, has given rise to much controversy. The following resolutions were voted as the foundation of their pretensions:—

1. That the people, under God, are the origin of all just power.

2. That the commons in England, assembled in parliament, being chosen by and representing the people, have the supreme authority of this nation.

3. That whatever is enacted and declared law by the commons of England, assembled in parliament, hath the force of law, and all the people of this nation are included thereby, although the consent and concurrence of the King and House of Peers be not had thereunto.

Of the truth of the first of these propositions there can be no doubt, and of the last they are clearly deducible from the first principles of society, on which law, constitution, and all authority are founded. It must be clear, that in all communities cases must occur not contemplated at the first formation of the constitution, and which can only be determined by an *ex post facto* law. The civil war betwixt the King and parliament was one of this description; and could only be decided by reverting to that omnipotent tribunal superior to law, and every established institution. Such an omnipotent power is necessary to the conservation of society, and where can such a power reside but in the people? From the people all laws, distinctions, institutions, and orders have emanated: as they have created all, so may they abolish all. The commons having assumed they represented the people, of course they represented all the different classes of which the people are composed—namely, the king, lords, and commons. In this body then all authority being vested, they were unquestionably not only competent to pronounce the levying war by the King *High Treason*, but to ascribe for this new offence whatever punishment they might deem conducive to the general good.

to know by what authority he was brought before them, or by what law of England he could be tried. But they answered him not a word.

Howbeit a solemn fast was appointed, to seek the Lord, and beg his direction in the murder of the king.

So much for the abstract principle. Honest Rapin reasons on this important question as follows: According to the constitution of the English government, the King is no less bound than the subject to observe the laws to which himself or predecessors assented, which is the principal clause of the coronation oath. If this obligation be equal on both sides, there must, therefore, be equally means to cause them to discharge it in case they neglect it. As for the subject there is no manner of difficulty. The penalties against offenders are universally known, and the courts of justice are appointed to inflict them. It is true the laws have ordained no penalties against the King, who discharges not his duty, but he is nevertheless bound to observe the laws himself, and cause them to be observed by the subject. This principle is undeniable. But what is the value of this obligation, if the observance of the laws depends solely on his will, and there be *no means to compel him to observe them* or punish him for their violation? Will it not be an empty sound without any meaning? And will not the English government be as arbitrary as any government in the world? Since therefore the laws have not decreed any penalty against a King that should neglect his duty, and, nevertheless, since he is bound to the observance of the laws, as much as any of his subjects, it follows that the *national representation* is the only tribunal, there being no other, that can justly call him to account.—*Rapin's Hist.* vol. x. p. 352.

The commons having satisfied themselves of their competency to try the King, appointed a committee to bring in a charge against him. On their report a vote passed declaring it High Treason for the King to levy war against his parliament, and appointing a High Court of Justice to try him for this new offence. The tribunal consisted of 133 persons, named by the commons, but there scarcely ever sat above 70. Cromwel, Ireton, Harrison, and the chief officers of the army were members, together with some of the lower house, and some of the citizens of London. Bradshaw, a lawyer, was chosen president. Coke was appointed solicitor for the people of England. The court sat in Westminster Hall.

The solicitor, in the name of the commons, represented that Charles Stuart, being admitted King of England, and *entrusted with a limited power;* yet, nevertheless, from a wicked design to erect an *unlimited and tyrannical* government, had traitorously and maliciously levied war against the present parliament and the people, whom they represented, and was therefore impeached as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a public and implacable enemy to the commonwealth.

Charles was produced three times before the court, and as often denied their jurisdiction. On the fourth time the judges having examined some witnesses, by whom it was proved that the King had appeared in arms against the forces commissioned by parliament, they pronounced sentence against him.

Howbeit a solemn fast—to seek the Lord.] Cromwell, though a clever fellow, was a sad hypocritical knave. In one of his speeches to the commons, he said, "Should any one have voluntarily proposed to bring the King to punishment, I should have regarded him as the greatest traitor; but since Providence and necessity have cast us upon it, I will pray to God for a blessing on your counsels; though I am not prepared to give you any advice on this important occasion. Even I, myself," subjoined this artful fanatic, "when I was lately offering up petitions for his majesty's

Moreover an inspired virgin was brought out of Hertfordshire, who pretended a revelation from heaven to encourage the saints in their pious work.

So they proceeded to his trial, and condemned him as a tyrant, traitor, murderer, and a publick enemy to the commonwealth of England, to be put to death by severing his head from his body.

Moreover, during the time of his trial, the head of his cane fell off, and no man knew why; wherefore it was thought the cane prophesied of what should come to pass.

And they treated him with great insolence, spitting upon him, and puffing tobacco in his face, which they knew was hateful unto him.

Howbeit he bore with patience their insults, neither opened he his lips against them.

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restoration, felt my tongue cleave to the roof of my mouth, and considered this preternatural movement as the answer which Heaven, having rejected the King, had sent to my supplications."

A remarkable adventure happened during the trial; in calling over the court, when the crier pronounced the name of Fairfax, which had been inserted in the number, a voice from one of the spectators exclaimed, *He has more wit than to be here.* When the charge was read against the King, *In the name of the people of England,* the same voice cried, *Not a tenth part of them.* Axtel, the officer who guarded the court, giving orders to fire into the box whence these insolent speeches came, it was discovered that Lady Fairfax was there, and that it was she who had had the courage to utter them.

The husband of this noble lady, who had distinguished himself greatly in the command of the parliamentary armies, was averse to the extreme measure of putting the King to death, and had formed the resolution to rescue Charles on the day of execution, at the head of his own regiment. Cromwell and Ireton, informed of this intention, endeavoured to convince him that the Lord had rejected the King; and they exhorted him to seek by prayer, (the constant resort on all occasions,) some direction from Heaven. But they concealed from Fairfax that they had already signed the warrant for the execution. Colonel Harrison, a fighting methodist, was appointed to join in prayer with the general. By agreement, he prolonged his doleful cant till the fatal blow was struck. He then rose from his knees, and insisted with Fairfax, that this event was a miraculous and providential answer which Heaven had sent to their devout supplications.

Moreover an inspired virgin.] A woman of Hertfordshire, illumined by prophetical visions, desired admittance into the military council, and communicated to the officers a revelation, which assured them that their measures were consecrated from above, and ratified by a heavenly sanction. This intelligence gave them great comfort, and much confirmed them in their present resolutions. *Hume*, vol. vii. p. 135.

And on the 30th day of the first month, which is called January, a scaffold was built before the gates of his own palace, and he was brought thereon, and his head was cut off and showed unto the people. And some rejoiced, but many suppressed the groans which they durst not utter.

And on the 30th day of January—a scaffold—his own palace.] Charles was beheaded in the street before Whitehall. It was intended, Hume says, by choosing that place, in sight of the royal palace, to display more evidently the triumph of popular justice over regal tyranny. When the King was preparing himself for the block, Bishop Juxton called to him: "There is, sir, but one stage more, which though turbulent and troublesome, is yet a very short one. Consider, it will soon carry you a great way; it will carry you from earth to heaven; and then you shall find to your great joy, the prize to which you hasten, a crown of glory." "I go," replied the King, "from a corruptible to an incorruptible crown, where no disturbance can have place." At one blow his head was severed from his body. A man in a vizor performed the office of executioner; another in a like disguise held up the head streaming with blood, and cried aloud, *This is the head of a traitor.*

After the King's head was struck off, his body was put in a coffin covered with black velvet, and removed to the lodging-room in Whitehall. Being embalmed, it was delivered to four of his servants, who conveyed it to Windsor, where it was silently interred without the burial service, on the 7th of February. The place of interment is in a vault about the middle of the choir, over against the eleventh stall, near Henry VIII. and Jane Seymour, with this in capitals on a fillet of lead, KING CHARLES, 1648. The whole funeral charges came but to £229 : 5s.

Application.

The abolition of the aristocracy and intire dissolution of the monarchy immediately followed the death of the King. When the peers met on the day appointed in their adjournment, they entered upon some business, and sent down some votes to the commons, of which the latter deigned not to take the least notice. In a few days the commons passed a vote that they would make no more addresses to the peers, nor receive any from them, and that that house was useless and dangerous, and was therefore to be abolished. A like vote passed with regard to the monarchy. One Martin, a zealous republican, observing in the debate on this question, that if they desired a King, the last was as proper as any gentleman in England. The commons ordered a new great seal to be engraved, on which that assembly was represented, with this legend, On the first year of Freedom by God's blessing restored, 1648. The form of all public business was changed from the King's name to that of the Keepers of the Liberties of England. It was declared high treason to proclaim, or otherwise acknowledge, Charles Stuart, commonly called Prince of Wales. The court of King's Bench was called the *Court of Public Bench;* and in the Lord's prayer, instead of *thy kingdom come*, they always said, *thy commonwealth come.*

The King's statue in the exchange was thrown down; and on the pedestal these words were inscribed: Exit tyrannus, Regum ultimus; *The tyrant is gone, the last of the kings.*

The commons, it is said, intended to bind the Princess Elizabeth apprentice to a button-maker; the Duke of Gloucester was to be taught some other mechanical em-

ployment But the former soon died of grief, as is supposed, for the tragical death of her father. The latter was, by Cromwell, sent beyond sea.

A few days after the King's execution, a work appeared in the King's name, called the *Icon Basilike*. Much controversy has prevailed whether it was the production of the King, or of some other individual. Hume seems to think from the internal evidence of these meditations, the elegance, purity, neatness, and simplicity of the style, and the general resemblance it bore to some of those performances which were known to have proceeded from Charles, that it was the King's composition: appearing at such a critical juncture, and being full of tenderness, meekness, and humanity, it caused a great re-action in public feeling. Some have even ascribed to this book the subsequent restoration of the royal family. The *Icon* passed through fifty editions in a twelvemonth; and Milton compares its effects to those wrought on the tumultuous Romans by Anthony reading to them the will of Cæsar.

The King left six children; three males, Charles, born in 1630; James, Duke of York, born in 1633; Henry, Duke of Gloucester, born in 1641; and three females, Mary, Princess of Orange, born 1631; Elizabeth, born 1635; and Henrietta, afterwards Duchess of Orleans, born at Exeter, 1644.

XXVI.—THE COMMONWEALTH.

And it came to pass after the death of king Charles, that the commons passed an act for annulling the house of lords, and abolishing the regal power as useless, burthensome, and dangerous; and the government of England was changed into a commonwealth.

And the duke of Hamilton, the earl of Holland, and lord Capel, and many others, who had been of the king's party, were put to death.

Moreover it was enacted, that all who possessed any publick post, should take out fresh grants, and new oaths, to qualify themselves for holding the same.

This grand alteration in the government occasioned also many others. The oaths of allegiance and supremacy were abolished: Justice was no longer administered in the king's name, but in the names of the keepers of the liberties of England: A new council of state, consisting of thirty-nine persons, was chosen for the administration of public affairs under the parliament: New money was coined, and a new great seal was made; on one side of which was seen the parliament sitting, with this inscription, *The great seal of the parlia-*

ment of the Commonwealth of England; on the other side the arms of England and Ireland, with these words, *The first year of Freedom by God's blessing restored.* And this seal was committed to a certain number of persons, who were styled *Keepers of the Liberties of Great Britain.*

Many also were the changes that were made in religion. Episcopacy was abolished, the common prayer despised; canting and hypocrisy, and doing all kinds of wickedness in the name of the Lord, were the signs of grace; and every one worshipped God after the foolishness of his own heart.

Howbeit the son of king Charles, who had fled beyond the seas, was invited into Scotland, where he was proclaimed king; and he raised an army of eighteen thousand men, and marched into England to the city of Worcester, and encamped there.

And Cromwell with an army of thirty thousand men pursued him to the gates of the city, where he pitched his tents, and prepared to give him battle.

Now Cromwell was a valiant man, and his ambition was great; and behold he was tempted of the devil to sell himself unto him, on condition that he should have success in all his undertakings for twenty and one years.

But the devil is a cheat and a liar from the beginning; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever putteth his trust in him shall be deceived. He that hath ears to hear, let him hear.

At some distance from the army of Cromwell was a very thick wood, in the middle of which the devil appointed Cromwell to meet him, and to sign the contract.

And Cromwell—prepared to give him battle.] The battle of Worcester afforded Cromwell what he called his *crowning mercy.* So elated was he, that he intended to have knighted in the field two of his generals, Lambert and Fleetwood; but was dissuaded by his friends from exerting this act of regal authority. How early he entertained thoughts of taking into his hands the reins of government is uncertain; but after achieving this decisive victory, his power and ambition became too great to brook submission to the empty name of a republic; and from this time he began to express his desire to his intimate friends to assume the regal title.

And it came to pass on the third day of the month September, early in the morning, that Cromwell arose from his bed, and took with him one of his stoutest captains, whose name was Lindsey, and they entered the wood.

Howbeit the heart of Lindsey was seized with terror, his hair stood up, he turned pale, and his joints knocked together:

And he spake unto Cromwell, saying, Behold now mine heart is smitten with dread, my spirit faileth, and I am even as a dead man, yet I know not for why.

And Cromwell upbraided him with cowardice, and said unto him, Fear not, come on.

But Lindsey the captain answered and said, Thou knowest I am no coward; yet verily, verily I say unto thee, my joints at this time are frozen with terror and astonishment, insomuch that it is impossible for me to stir a step.

Then Cromwell said unto him, Stand still, and attend to what thou seest. And he went a few paces from him, and lo the devil rose up before him in the likeness of an ancient man, with a roll of parchment in his hand.

His horns were in his pocket, his tail also and his hoof were concealed beneath his garment; wherefore Lindsey the captain resumed his courage, and he listened unto them with great attention.

And Cromwell said unto the devil, Satan, why hast thou deceived me? The contract I made was for one and twenty years, and behold thou hast drawn it for seven.

And the devil said unto Cromwell, Seven years is the utmost that I can allow unto thee, take it or leave it.

Then the anger of Cromwell was kindled against the devil, and he spake unto him with great fierceness, saying, Fourteen years thou shalt allow me, deny it if thou darest.

Howbeit the devil was obstinate, and they scolded together with great fury; and the devil said unto Cromwell, If thou likest not the bargain, another shall have it.

But Cromwell snatching the parchment from his hand, signed the

contract for seven years; whereupon the devil in a cloud of smoke and sulphur vanished from his sight.

Then Cromwell returned to Lindsey in triumph, saying, The battle is our own, let us engage this day, for the devil hath given them into mine hand.

But the heart of Lindsey was smitten within him, and he fled from the presence of Cromwell, and he rode day and night till he came to the house of a certain priest, whose name was Thorowgood, unto whom he told all that he had seen.

Moreover he prophesied, saying, Mine eyes have seen it, the hand of death is upon him, and at the end of seven years he shall surely die.

And Thorowgood the priest was a man of great faith, and he believed the tale, and he caused it to be written in a book, and the book is preserved unto this day. Yet I would not that thou shouldest look for it, lest peradventure it should be hard to find.

And Cromwell returned to his army, and he drew them up in battle array, and he assaulted the city and took it; and the army of the king was discomfited, and many were slain by the edge of the sword.

Nevertheless he fell not into the hands of his enemies, neither was he taken in their snares: He was beset with dangers round about, but the hand of the Lord conducted him in safety.

And it came to pass that he was pursued into the middle of a wood, called Boscobel, and he got up into a tree and concealed himself, that his pursuers passed by and saw him not.

And it came to pass—middle of a wood called Boscobel.] After the fatal battle of Worcester, the King was directed by the Earl of Derby to place himself in the hands of one Penderell, a farmer, who inhabited a lone house in Boscobel, on the borders of Staffordshire. Though a great reward was offered for the apprehension of Charles, and though the penalty of death was denounced against all who should conceal him, he professed and maintained the most unshaken fidelity. He took the assistance of his four brothers, equally honourable with himself; and having clothed the king in a garb like their own, they led him into the neighbouring wood, put a bill into his hand, and pretended to employ themselves in cutting faggots. Some nights he lay upon straw in the house, and fed on such homely fare as it afforded. While

And the tree is called the *Royal Oak* unto this day.

In a barn also he hid himself; two days and two nights concealed he himself from the rage of his enemies; straw only was his bed, and he was fed by the hand of a poor woman with buttermilk and bread.

Moreover he stripped off his royal robes, and disguised himself in poor array; his hands also and his face he dyed with walnuts; a hempen shirt was next his skin, and his outward garment was a leathern doublet: in the night also he fled, in the darkness of the night he escaped.

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mounted upon an oak, where he sheltered himself among the leaves and branches for twenty-four hours, he saw several soldiers pass by, all of whom were intent upon the search of the king, and some expressed, in his hearing, their earnest wishes of seizing him.

He was in the middle of the kingdom, and could neither stay in his retreat nor stir a step from it without the most imminent danger. Fear, hope, party zeal, interested multitudes to discover him, and the smallest indiscretion might prove fatal. Having joined Lord Wilmot, who was skulking in the neighbourhood, they agreed to put themselves into the hands of Colonel Lane, a zealous royalist, who lived at Bentley, not many miles distant. The king's feet were so hurt by walking about in heavy boots, or countrymen's shoes which did not fit him, that he was obliged to mount on horseback; and he travelled in this situation to Bentley, attended by the Penderells. Lane formed a scheme for his journey to Bristol, where, it was hoped, he would find a ship in which he might transport himself. The colonel had a near kinswoman, Mrs. Norton, who lived within three miles of that city, and was with child, very near the time of her delivery. He obtained a pass for his sister Jane Lane, and a servant to travel towards Bristol, under pretence of visiting and attending Mrs. Norton. Charles rode before the lady and personated the servant.

When they arrived at Norton's, Mrs. Lane pretended that she had brought along, as her servant, a poor lad, a neighbouring farmer's son, who was ill of an ague; and she begged a private room for him where he might be quiet. Though Charles kept himself retired in this chamber, the butler, one Pope, soon knew him: the king was alarmed, but made the butler promise he would keep the secret from every mortal, even from his master; and he was faithful to his engagement.

Finding no ship was likely to sail from Bristol, either for France or Spain, the king was obliged to go elsewhere for a passage. He entrusted himself to Colonel Windham, of Dorsetshire, a steady adherent of the royal cause. Various trials were made to procure a vessel for his escape, but he still met with disappointment. Having left Windham's house, he was obliged again to return to it. He passed through many other adventures; assumed different disguises; in every step was exposed to imminent perils; and received daily proofs of extraordinary attachment. The sagacity of a smith who remarked that his horse's shoes had been made in the north, not in the west, as he pretended, once detected him, and he narrowly escaped. At Shoreham, in Sussex, a vessel was at last found in which he embarked. After one and forty days concealment, he landed at Feschamp, in Normandy. No less than forty men and women had been privy, at different times, to his concealment and escape.

And he walked from the going down of the sun even till the morning-star appeared, insomuch that his feet were galled with blood.

Many other disguises put he on, and many other perils did he encounter; now on a miller's horse with dusty bags, and now before a country dame on horseback; till at last arriving at the sea-side, he escaped to France in a small vessel belonging to a poor fisherman.

Mean time the power of Cromwell increased, and his glory grew

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Meantime the power of Cromwell—the protector thereof.] Cromwell finding that parliament by reducing the army and other measures, intended to lessen his authority, determined to prevent them. He summoned a general council of officers, and immediately found that they were disposed to receive whatever impressions he was pleased to give them Most of them were his creatures, had owed their advancement to his favour, and relied entirely on him for their future preferment. At Cromwell's instigation they framed a remonstrance to parliament; complaining of the arrears due to the army, of the prolongation of their sittings, and the violation of their promise to the people to establish a free and equal government.

The parliament took this remonstrance in ill-part, and returned a sharp reply. The officers insisted on the reasonableness of their advice, and by mutual opposition and altercation, the breach became irreparable. Cromwell finding matters get ripe for his purpose, called another council of officers in order to come to a determination with respect to a public settlement. As he had many friends here, so he had some opponents. Harrison having assured the council that the general only wished to pave the way for the government of King *Jesus* and his saints, Major Streaton briskly replied, That Jesus ought then to come quickly: for if he delayed it till after Christmas he would come too late, and his throne would be occupied. While the officers were in debate Colonel Ingoldsby informed Cromwell that parliament was sitting, and had come to a resolution not to dissolve themselves, but to fill up the house with new elections; and that at that very time they were deliberating on this expedient. Cromwell in a rage immediately hastened to the house, carrying a body of 300 soldiers along with him. Some of them he placed at the door, some in the lobby, some on the stairs.

He first addressed himself to his friend St. John, and told him that he had come with a purpose of doing what grieved him to the very soul, and what he had earnestly, with tears, besought the Lord not to impose upon him; but there was a necessity, in order to the glory of God and the good of the nation. He sat down some time and heard the debate. He beckoned Harrison, and told him that he now considered the parliament ripe for dissolution. "Sir," said Harrison, "the work is very great and dangerous; I desire you seriously to consider before you engage in it." "You say well," replied the general; and thereupon sat still a quarter of an hour. When the the question was ready to be put, he again said to Harrison, "This is the time: I must do it." And suddenly starting up, he loaded the parliament with the vilest reproaches for their tyranny, ambition, oppression, and robbery of the public. Then stamping with his foot, a signal for the soldiers to enter, "For shame," said he to the parliament; "get you gone; give place to honester men; to those who will more faithfully discharge their trust. You are no longer a parliament; I tell you, you are no longer a parliament. The Lord has done with you. He has chosen other instruments for carrying on his work."

unto the height; insomuch that he set himself at the head of the commonwealth, and was called the Protector thereof.

Sir Harry Vane exclaiming against this proceeding, he cried with a loud voice, "O Sir Harry Vane, Sir Harry Vane! the Lord deliver me from Sir Harry Vane." Taking hold of Martin by the cloak, "Thou art a whoremaster;" said he. To another, "Thou art an adulterer." To a third, "Thou art a drunkard and a glutton." "And thou an extortioner," to a fourth. He commanded a soldier to seize the mace. "What shall we do with this bauble? Here take it away. It is you," said he, addressing himself to the house, "that have forced me upon this. I have sought the Lord night and day that he would rather slay me than put me upon this work." Having commanded the soldiers to clear the hall; he himself went out the last, and ordering the doors to be locked, put the keys in his pocket, and departed to his lodgings in Whitehall.

Such was the rough and decided manner in which Cromwell, without the least opposition, annihilated that famous assembly, which had filled Europe with the renown of its actions, and whose commencement was not more ardently desired by the people, than, in consequence of its subsequent crimes and ambition, its dissolution. Hume's observations on the dissolution of the parliamentary government, and the establishment of a despotism under the title of protectorship, seem deserving of some notice. "All parties," says he, "now reaped successively the melancholy pleasure of seeing the injuries which they had suffered revenged on their enemies; and that too by the same arts which had been practised against them. The king had stretched his prerogative beyond just bounds; and aided by the church had well nigh put an end to all the liberties and privileges of the nation. The presbyterians checked the progress of the court and clergy, and excited, by cant and hypocrisy, the populace first to tumults, then to war against the king, the peers, and all the royalists. No sooner had they reached the pinnacle of grandeur than the independents, under the appearance of still greater sanctity, instigated the army against them, and reduced them to subjection. The independents, amidst their empty dreams of liberty, or rather of dominion, were oppressed by the rebellion of their own servants, and found themselves at once exposed to the insults of power and hatred of the people.—*Hume's History*, vol. vii. p. 220.

The strange government that succeeded the dissolution of the parliament, deserves to be described. Cromwell thought it necessary at least to observe some of the forms of a free government; and accordingly sent summons to 128 persons of different towns and counties of England, to five of Scotland, to six of Ireland. He pretended by his sole act and deed to devolve upon these the whole authority of the state. This legislative power they were to exercise during fifteen months, and afterwards nominate their successors. The assembly was composed principally of mechanics, fifth monarchy men, anabaptists, antinomians, independents, and the refuse of those fanatical sects which then pestered the community. Cromwell opened the parliament with a *luminous* speech, and told them that he never looked to see such a day when Christ should be so *owned*. The *honourable* members then began with seeking God by prayer; this office was performed by eight or ten *gifted* men of the assembly, and with so much success that, according to the confession of all, the *Holy Spirit* had never been before experienced in such great abundance.

After these preliminaries, they entered upon the work of reformation, and to prepare the way for the coming of the Lord. They took into their consideration the abolition of the established clergy, as savouring of popery; and the taking away of tithes, which they called a relict of Judaism. Learning also, and the universities were deemed heathenish and unnecessary; the common law was denominated a badge of the conquest and Norman slavery, and the whole race of lawyers were threatened

with extirpation. Some steps were taken towards the abolition of the court of Chancery; and circumcision and other parts of the Mosaical law, were about to be established as the most perfect system of English jurisprudence.

Of the different schemes of these fanatical legislators, none were adopted with the exception of the legal solemnization of marriages, by the civil magistrate, without the interposition of the clergy. They found themselves exposed to the derision of the public. Among the fanatics of the house was an active member, much noted for his long sermons, prayers, and harangues. He was a leather-seller, in London; his name *Praise-god Barebone*. From the ridiculous name of the bedlamite, this people called the assembly *Barebone's parliament*. Cromwell himself began to be ashamed of his legislature, and he sent Colonel White, with a party of soldiers, to put an end to their deliberations. The colonel asked them what they did there? "We are seeking the Lord," said they. "Then you may go elsewhere," replied he, "for to my certain knowledge he has not been here these many years."

A new form of government was then established by the council of officers. In this form Cromwell was declared Protector, and installed in his office with great solemnity. His power was nearly absolute; in his name was all justice to be administered; from him was all magistracy and honours derived; he had the power of pardoning all crimes, excepting murder and treason; to him all forfeitures devolved; the right of peace and war was vested in him, with the advice and consent of his council. A parliament was to be summoned every three years, and to sit five months, without adjournment, prorogation, or dissolution. The bills they passed were to be presented to the Protector for his assent; but if within twenty days it was not obtained, they were to become laws by the authority of parliament alone. These were the principal articles of the new constitution; it continued till the death of the Protector; and differed nothing from the monarchy they had destroyed, except the name, and the far superior abilities of the man who exercised the functions of first magistrate.

XXVII.—OLIVER CROMWELL,

PROTECTOR.

Now Cromwell was a valiant man, but a great hypocrite; and he humoured the times, pretending to piety, and to consult the Lord in all his doings.

Howbeit his character is doubtful, whether he was a righteous man

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Howbeit his character is doubtful.] Before describing the character of this "wonderful man," as Hume calls him, it may be proper to give a brief narrative of the most important facts in his private history. This we shall do principally from a very impartial and circumstantial history of the "Protectoral House of Cromwell," by Mr. Noble. Another history has lately appeared, by Oliver Cromwell, Esq. a descendant of the family, which corrects some errors in Cromwell's former biographers. We shall insert some anecdotes from both.

or a rogue; neither is it determined by which appellation to call him unto this day: Peradventure he was a mixture of both.

Oliver, the only surviving son of Mr. Robert Cromwell, of Huntingdon, was born in St. John's parish, in that town, April 25, 1599; his baptismal name he received from his uncle and godfather, Sir Oliver Cromwell. The Cromwell family was very ancient and respectable; being originally from Wales, and deriving its pedigree from Glothian, lord of Powis. An incident is related of the infancy of Oliver, which placed in great jeopardy all the blessings of his future Protectorship. His grandfather having sent for him to Hinchinbrook, when an infant in arms, a monkey took him from the cradle, and ran with him upon the lead that covered the roof of the house; alarmed at the danger of the child, the family brought beds to catch him upon, fearing the creature's dropping him; but the sagacious brute brought the "fortune of England" safely down.

His conduct at school is differently described. He seems, however, to have delighted more in playing at foot-ball, cudgelling and wrestling, than in the acquisition of knowledge. But notwithstanding his attachment to these rough sports, he was by no means illiterate; all his life he was a great patron of learning; and besides being a tolerable proficient in the Latin tongue, he was well acquainted with the Roman and Greek histories. At Lincoln's Inn, it is said, the juice of the grape, and the charms of the fair, with a habit of gaming, engrossed more of his attention than the study of law reports and Coke upon Littleton. Returning to his native town, he there continued, if we are to credit the relations of his enemies, his vicious courses; the taverns formed the chief place of his abode; impatient and overbearing in his disposition, his equals declined his company, and he was compelled to herd with less creditable associates; those who happened not to fall in with his sentiments, received corporal chastisement from his favourite weapon, a cudgel staff; to the publicans he was by no means a welcome visitor, frequently forgetting to pay his reckoning; such was the terror of the innkeepers at his visits, that when they saw him coming they would say "Here comes young Cromwell, shut up your doors;" nor were the women less fearful from his rude and audacious attacks. At a Christmas entertainment given by his uncle, Sir Oliver, young Cromwell attended, so filthily bedaubed, that the stench became intolerable, and he was by general consent forced out of the room, and underwent a severe ducking in a neighbouring horse-pond.

Such are the vagaries related of his youth. But if he were addicted to these follies they were certainly of short duration. Before his twenty-first year his character underwent an entire change, and he became as exemplary for a correct and sanctified deportment, as formerly for coarse dissipation. Observing this change in his conduct, his relations, the Hampdens and Barringtons, ancient and powerful families, interested themselves in his fortune, and by their influence he married the daughter of Sir James Bouchier: a lady, whose want of personal charms were amply compensated by the great fortune she brought him, and her exemplary virtue and great good sense. From a rake, Cromwell became an hypochondriacal enthusiast, indulging his imagination in visions, illuminations, and revelations; frequently thought himself dying, and entertained most ridiculous fancies about the cross in Huntingden. Being somewhat embarrassed in his circumstances, he took a farm at St. Ives, intending to follow agriculture as a profession. But this expedient served to involve him in farther difficulties. The long prayers he said in the morning, then again in the afternoon, consuming his own time and that of his ploughmen, left little leisure for the care of his temporal affairs. While at St. Ives he made restitution to several of his former acquaintance of the sums he had won at gaming. Unsettled in his mind, and unprosperous in his affairs, he formed the design of emigrating to America, along with his kinsman the celebrated

Those who speak evil of him say, that he set up himself as an idol, and made the very streets of London like unto the valley of Hinnom,

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Hampden, but in this he was prevented by an order in council,—a most unfortunate interference on the part of King Charles.

At length he obtained a seat in parliament. This assembly afforded some scope for the developement of his extraordinary talents, and the black vapours with which he had been afflicted in the country were dispelled in a noble zeal against the tyrannical measures of the court. His first appearance in parliament was by no means prepossessing. Sir Philip Warwick, a writer of veracity, thus describes him:—"The first time," says the knight, "that ever I took notice of him, was in the beginning of the parliament held in November, 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman, (for we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good clothes,) I came one morning into the house well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking whom I knew not, very ordinarily apparelled, for it was a plain cloth suit, which seemed to have been made by an ill country tailor; his linen was plain and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much longer than his collar; his hat was without a hat band; his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swollen and reddish, his voice sharp and untunable, and his eloquence full of fervour."—Lord Digby, when going down stairs with Mr. Hampden, and not knowing Oliver personally, said, "Pray, Mr. Hampden, who is that man, for I see he is on our side by his speaking so warmly to-day."—"That sloven," said Hampden, "whom you see before you has no ornament in his speech; that sloven, I say, if we should ever come to a breach with the King, (which God forbid!) in such a case, I say, that sloven will be the greatest man in England." Subsequent events proved that Hampden had formed a correct estimate of the profound and sagacious mind of his relation. When Cromwell rose into importance, he became more careful of his personal appearance; while protector, he was not only distinguished by the dignity and propriety of his deportment, but the elegance of his dress and the politeness of his demeanour.

As it is impossible to insert here a life of Oliver, we shall only select a few of the most remarkable anecdotes illustrative of his character. With respect to the King's death, so far from being blameable, he is entitled to the praise of humanity for his efforts to preserve his life. He fell even under dangerous suspicions with the army, from the intercourse he maintained with the friends of that misguided prince. Cromwell averred, that he would serve the King as long as he could do it without his own ruin, but honestly declared that it must not be expected that he would perish for his sake. After this he discovered Charles's disgusting insincerity in a letter to the Queen, where he informed her majesty that he was courted by both parties (the parliament and the army;) but would close with those that offered the best terms. In another letter, he said, that it would be easier to take off Cromwell when he had agreed with the parliament, than now he was at the head of the army. These things were known to Oliver; he foresaw it was a mere question between his own life and the king's, and he naturally observed on the occasion, "If it must be my head or the king's, can I hesitate which to choose?"—*Noble's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 117.

This account is confirmed by Burnet, in his History of his Own Time. He says, "As to taking the King's life, Ireton was the person who drove it on; for Cromwell was all the while in some suspense about it."—v. i. p. 63. Hume, in a note, p. 519, confirms the account of the letters written by Charles to the Queen. Indeed there cannot be the slighest doubt, that while Cromwell was acting with the best intentions towards Charles, he was basely contriving plans for his destruction.

His jesting and buffoonery, at the King's execution, have no doubt been greatly

by burning the bowels of men as a sacrifice to his Molockship: that his pretence was freedom for all men, and that by the help of that

exaggerated. It has been said he laughed, smiled, and jeered during the trial, and when he signed the warrant for his execution, in a frolic, he daubed with the pen Harry Martin's face, and that Martin returned the compliment. It is certain he went to see the King's corpse; and some say put his finger to the neck, to feel whether it was entirely severed, and viewing the inside of the body, he observed, how sound it was, and how well made for longevity. No doubt he mocked his Maker with hypocritical prayers for the King, when he had determined on his execution But Oliver all his life was fond of a joke, and like other jokers it is probable he might at times jest unseasonably; but that he commiserated the weak King's miserable fate, is evident from the anecdote mentioned by Sir Purbeck Temple, on the trial of the regicides This witness related, that when the commissioners of the High Court of Justice had met to consider how they might best regulate their proceedings, he concealed himself in the painted chamber: when news was brought that the King had landed at Sir Robert Cotton's stairs, Cromwell ran to the window, to view his majesty as he came up the garden, but returned as white as the wall

Whatever levities Oliver might indulge at the King's execution, they were much less infamous than the cowardly indignities he experienced after his own death. After the restoration, his noble remains were dragged from the grave, and drawn on a sledge to Tyburn; after hanging there some time, he was beheaded, and his body thrown into a hole under the gallows: his head remained a long time stuck upon a pole at Westminster-Hall. But even this did not satiate the rage of the royalists without insulting his descendants. An anecdote related of Lady Frances, the youngest daughter of Cromwell, will show not only the spirit of that lady, but also of the royalists. One of them wishing to insult this daughter of Cromwell, by her father being exposed on a gibbet, said in the King's presence, "Madam, I saw your father yesterday?" "What then, Sir?" "He stunk most abominably." "I suppose he was dead then?" "Yes." "I thought so, or else I believe he would have made you stink worse."

The Protector's administration was extremely vigilant. Thurloe, his secretary, had spies every where. Manning, who had access to the royal family, kept a regular correspondence with him. Postmasters, both at home and abroad, were in his pay; carriers were searched or bribed; secretaries and clerks were corrupted. The greatest zealots in all parties were commonly those who conveyed private information to him. It is said he expended sixty thousand a-year in procuring intelligence. Burnet says the royalists were completely entangled in his nets, and they could not make the least movement without being discovered. He could disconcert any project by confining the persons who were to be the actors in it; and as he restored them again to liberty, his severity passed only for a general suspicion.

Oliver had a strong desire to assume the regal title. Alderman Pack, one of the city members, made a formal motion in the house for investing him with the dignity of king. A bill passed for this purpose; and a committee was appointed to reason with the protector, and overcome the scruples which he pretended against accepting so liberal an offer. An account of this conference has been preserved, and the nonsense uttered by Cromwell on the occasion is prodigious. Indeed there was the strangest contrast imaginable, betwixt the clearness and decision of his actions, and the confusion, embarrassment, and obscurity which pervaded his speeches and conversation. Here follow two sentences, taken at random from his replies: "I confess, for it behoves me to deal plainly with you, I must confess, I would confess, I hope I may be understood in this; for, indeed, I must be tender of what I say to such an audience as this; I say I would be understood that in this argument I do not make

pretence he made all men his slaves, setting up himself above all that were ever called sovereign in England: that he summoned parlia-

parallel betwixt men of a different mind, and a parliament which shall have their desires." "And though a man may impute his own folly and blindness to Providence sinfully, yet it must be at my peril; the case may be that it is the providence of God that doth lead men; I must needs say that I have had a great deal of experience of providence, and though it is no rule without nor against the word, yet is a very good expositor of the word in many cases."—*Conference at Whitehall.* This jargon is nearly as unintelligible as some of our acts of parliament, drawn up by the *learned* gentlemen of the universities.

Cromwell took some days to consider of his reply to the splendid offer of the Commons. The great obstacle to his ambition arose in his own family. Fleetwood had married his daughter; Desborough his sister. Yet these men, actuated by principle alone, could by no persuasion or artifice be induced to consent that their relation and patron should be invested with the regal dignity. They threatened to throw up their commissions if he accepted the crown. Colonel Pride procured a petition against the office of king, signed by a majority of the officers in the neighbourhood of London. Several persons, it is said, had formed an engagement to murder the Protector within a few hours after he had accepted the offer of parliament; and upon the whole, Cromwell, after the agony and perplexity of long doubt, was at last obliged to refuse the crown which the national representatives had solemnly tendered to him. Some historians have blamed his choice, but no doubt he was the best judge of his situation, and it is quite certain he was guided more by necessity than inclination.

With the saints of all denominations Oliver was familiar and easy. He discoursed largely to them about their advances in grace, their experiences, and the critical moment of their conversion; he sighed, he wept, he canted, he prayed. He even entered with them into an emulation of their ghostly gifts; and these enthusiasts, instead of grieving to be outdone in their own way, were proud that his highness dignified their holy practices by his princely example. General Harrison, the most confidential friend of the protector, frequently gave him spiritual advice—"Let the waiting upon Jehovah," said this military enthusiast, "be the greatest and most considerable business you have every day: reckon it so more than to eat, sleep, and council together. Run aside sometimes from your company and get a word with the Lord. Why should you not have three or four precious souls always standing at your elbow with whom you might now and then turn into a corner? I have found refreshment and mercy in such a way."—*Hume's Hist.* p. 262, *from Milton's State Papers.* While we laugh at the religious fooleries of these men, it is impossible but to admire some nobler traits in their characters; stern and inflexible in their principles, many of them were willing to sacrifice all views of emolument and aggrandisement to a popular and free government.

We will only mention one more anecdote of Cromwell; it will show that the same promptitude and judicious management guided him in his private as public conduct. Jeremy White, Oliver's chaplain, and the most gallant man in the protector's court, carried his ambition so far as to think of becoming his son-in-law, by marrying lady Frances. Cromwell, who had rejected an overture from Charles II. for his daughter, thought it a great derogation to admit the pretensions of Jerry, the most licentious man in his court, and who had even brought some scandal on the protectoral palace, by his prophane jests and debaucheries. The chaplain possessing wit and other personal attractions, his advances were far from being unacceptable to the protector's daughter. Oliver had his spies every where, and hearing of Jerry's progress, he ordered an informer to watch them narrowly, and promised that upon substantial proof,

ments with a word of his pen, and dispersed them again with the breath of his mouth: that he took arms against taxes of scarce two hundred thousand pounds a-year, and raised them himself to above two millions: that under the pretence of reforming religion, he robbed it even to the skin, and then exposed it naked to the rage of all sects and heresies: that he fought against the king under a commission for him, and then took him forcibly out of the hands of those for whom he had conquered him, and butchered him in the open face of all the whole world, with as little shame as conscience or humanity.

Thus he is made a monster of baseness, ingratitude, hypocrisy, rebellion, and usurpation.

Howbeit there are others who defend him; saying, he was an illustrious warrior, a great politician, a man of the most consummate prudence, and who had the art of making himself both feared and respected: that if his government be compared with those of the two last kings, there will appear a very great disparity with regard to the glory and reputation of the English nation: that he made himself equally dreaded by France and Spain, and the United Provinces, who all courted his friendship with such ardour, that they

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he should be amply rewarded and Jerry severely punished. It was not long before the informer acquainted his highness that Jerry was then with the lady, and upon hastening to his daughter's apartment, he discovered the unfortunate Jerry upon his knees, kissing her ladyship's hand. "What is the meaning of this posture before my daughter Frances?" exclaimed the protector hastily. The chaplain adroitly replied, "May it please your highness, I have long time courted that young gentlewoman there, my lady's woman, and cannot prevail; I was therefore humbly praying her ladyship to intercede for me." Oliver, turning to the waiting woman, said, "He is my friend, and I expect you should treat him as such." The lady's woman, desiring nothing more, replied with a low courtesy, "If Mr. White intends me that honour I should not oppose him." Upon which Oliver said, "Well, call Goodwin; this business shall be done presently, before I go out of the room." Poor Jerry was nailed, he could not retreat, Goodwin came and they were instantly married; the bride at the same time receiving £500 from the protector. Jerry lived with this wife (not of his his choice certainly) fifty years. Oldmixon says he knew both him and Mrs. White, and heard the story told when they were present, when Mrs. White acknowledged "*there was something in it.*"

Howbeit—equally dreaded by France and Spain—cringed to him beyond what was becoming.] It is impossible to conceive the meanness both the kings of France and

may be said to have cringed to him beyond what was becoming: that if his ambition led him to aggrandize himself, it also led him to advance the glory of the English name, and the terror of their arms, even to the pitch of Roman greatness: that as to his morals, he was guilty of few of the vices to which men are commonly addicted; gluttony, drunkenness, gaming, luxury, and avarice, were crimes with which he was never reproached: and as to his religion, his principle was, to leave every man at liberty, and to persecute no one on that account. In fine, that by his great capacity and uncommon abilities he raised himself to the supreme dignity, supported himself in it with great glory, and dying in peace, bequeathed it to his posterity.

And now behold, he that was a monster is become an hero! Wherefore, gentle reader, out of the two characters here given, thou mayest form such a one as seemeth best in thine eyes, and call him Oliver Cromwell.

Spain used to win the friendship of Cromwell; his very name was terrible to them. It is said that he obliged the haughty Louis XIV. to sign his name after his; it is certain he would not receive the title of *cousin* from that king, but insisted on that of *brother*. He obliged all nations to pay the same honours to his ambassadors as they had done when the kingdoms were governed by kings, saying it was the *nation*, not the *king* to whom the respect had been paid. The whole world trembled at his name; Cardinal Mazarine declared that he was more afraid of him than of the devil: the Pope ordered processions to be carried about to prevent the thunder of his cannon reaching Rome. The Duke of Savoy was commanded to put a stop to the massacre of his protestant subjects; no sooner did the mandate of Oliver reach him than he obeyed: the stubborn Dutch were all submission to him: Sweden took uncommon pains to obtain his alliance: Denmark and Portugal he treated with disdain and haughtiness: all Italy, with the piratical states of Africa, whose insolence he had punished for their depredations on English ships, stood in awe of his power.

The ascendancy of Cromwell's genius and the terror in which he was held are evinced by the medals and caricatures of the day. On a Dutch medallion is inscribed OLIVER D. G. R. P. AN. SCO. HIBERNIÆ PROTECTOR. Reverse, Cromwell with his head in Britannia's lap, backside bare, French and Spanish ambassadors: the latter attempts to kiss his backside, but is pulled back by the former with these words: RETIRE TOI; L'HONNEUR APARTIENT AU ROI MON MAITRE: *Stand off; that honour belongs to the king my master.* In a print publicly exposed to sale at Paris, Cromwell was represented upon a close-stool, with the king of France on his right hand, and the king of Spain on his left, each offering him a supply of paper.* How

* Noble's Memoirs of the Protectoral House, p. 310.

And it came to pass on the third day of the month September, the day on which he had signed the devil's contract, that day his life was required of him; that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by Lindsey the prophet, *The hand of death is upon him, and at the end of seven years he shall surely die.*

Now the rest of the acts of this ruler, and the surprizing things that he did, behold they are written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of England.

And Cromwell slept with his fathers, and was buried in the chapel

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contemptible the beggarly grandeur the country has acquired under the Pitt system appears, and about which Mr. Jacks and George Canning indulge such frothy declamation, when compared with the real power and respect acquired by England during the Commonwealth.

And it came to pass—which was spoken by Lindsey the prophet.] We omitted to make a note about this rigmarole story in the last chapter, but we will make one now. There is nothing however extravagant and marvellous in nature, for the truth of which some men may not be found ready to vouch; and this has really been the case in all times and places, from the beginning of the world to this day. For instance, men may at all times be found to say, and swear too, if required, that iron has been made to swim, the dead to rise, the lame to walk, the blind to see, and so on. All history, sacred and prophane, ancient and modern, is filled with such marvellous stories; how they got there, or for what purpose, we will not presume to say, but it is certain they are there. Here is Colonel LINDSEY, a man of no mean note in his time, he affirmed that Cromwell *sold himself to the devil for seven years*; he avers that he saw the solemn contract made, heard with his own ears, saw with his own eyes, specifies both time and place, and every circumstance so minutely, that really it seems quite impossible to withhold our assent. Mr Archdeacon Echard, a very grave man, in his History of England, believes the colonel's narrative, and Mr. Anthony Wood, a loyalist, gave full credit to this extraordinary bargain. What then are we to do in such cases? Are we to consider Colonel LINDSEY a liar or a madman, or both? But why not as readily believe a miraculous story told by the colonel, as a miraculous story told by Tacitus or Justin, or Moses or Mahomet? A *learned* doctor believed it, and Anthony Wood believed it, why, therefore, should not we believe it? Indeed it is a very great dilemma, but we will inform the reader how we manage these things; we never credit any miraculous stories wheresoever related or by whomsoever believed. This rule we follow to secure ourselves from imposition, and also for the following reason: men we have experienced are apt to be deceived, and sometimes to tell lies: on the contrary, we never witnessed any miracle ourselves, nor observed nature deviate from her established laws; hence we infer that no such thing ever happened, and that when any miracle is propounded it is much more probable that the narrator should be a knave or a fool, than that Nature, for any paltry purpose, should suffer her immutable laws to be violated. We have not time to explain this principle more in detail, but leave it to the reader's calm and impartial consideration.

And Cromwell slept with his fathers.] He died on the 3d of September, 1658. His

of Henry the seventh, and Richard his son was protector in his stead.

death it was thought arose from anxiety of mind, originating in the difficulties of his situation. The royalists were unceasingly occupied in forming plots for his assassination ; and one Sindercome had undertaken to murder him ; but by the most unaccountable accidents had been prevented executing his bloody purpose. Add to this the opposition he met to his criminal ambition from the members of his own family. Fleetwood, his son-in-law, began to estrange himself from him, and was enraged to find that Oliver sought the promotion of his own power and grandeur, rather than to realize those professions of piety and republicanism with which he had commenced his career. His eldest daughter had adopted republican principles so vehemently, that she could not with patience behold power lodged in a single person, even in her indulgent father. His other daughters were no less prejudiced in favour of the royal cause, and regretted those violences by which their family had been elevated. Above all, the sickness of Mrs. Claypoole, his favourite daughter, a lady of most exemplary virtues and accomplishments, poisoned all his enjoyments. She solicited in vain the pardon of Dr. Hewitt, who was beheaded for entering into a plot to restore the exiled family. Before her death, in the conversations she had with the protector, she painted the guilt of his ambition in the most dreadful colours, which Lord Clarendon says perplexed him exceedingly, and that he took much pains to prevent any of his attendants hearing. Such a remonstrance, from a favourite child, on the brink of death, must have sunk deep into his heart; it is certain that his mind was never at rest from that moment, and after the death of Mrs. Claypoole he grew quite melancholy.

From the corroding cares of his troubled conscience, his body became affected, and his health sensibly to decline. He was seized with a slow fever, which changed into a tertian ague. For the space of a week no unfavourable symptoms appeared, and in the intervals of the fits he was able to walk abroad. At length the fever increased, and he began himself to entertain some thoughts of dying, a subject which had formerly been intimately present to him, though in subsequent turmoils no doubt it had been considerably obliterated. He asked Goodwin, one of his preachers, if the doctrine were true, that the *elect* could never fall or suffer final reprobation. *Nothing more true*, replied Goodwin. *Then I am safe*, said the protector, *for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace.* His physicians declaring the perilous situation of their patient, a deputation from the council waited upon him, to know his will with regard to his successor. His senses were gone and he could not now express his intentions. They asked him whether he did not mean that his eldest son Richard should succeed him in the protectorship. A simple affirmative was, or seemed to be extorted from him. The 3d of September, on which he died, he always considered the most fortunate day of his life. A most furious tempest, which immediately succeeded his death, served as a subject of discourse to the superstitious. His partizans, as well as his enemies, remarked this event, and interpreted it according to their peculiar prejudices; the former representing it as a breeze to waft his spirit to the regions of eternal bliss, the latter to everlasting perdition.

Cromwell was protector five years. He died at his palace of Whitehall, and was buried with immense splendour in Westminster Abbey in the royal sepulchre. The whole expense of the funeral amounted to the enormous sum of £ 28,000. His body, with that of Ireton, was disinterred on Saturday, January 26, 1660, and on the Monday night following they were drawn in several carts from Westminster to the Red-lion-inn, in Holborn, where they remained all night. Bradshaw's, who pre-

sided at the king's trial, was taken up the morning following; when all three were conveyed on sledges to Tyburn, taken out of their coffins, hanged upon the several angles of that triple tree till sun-set, then beheaded, their trunks thrown into a hole under the gallows, and their heads placed upon poles upon the top of Westminster-hall, where Oliver's long remained. Such was the brutal and senseless rage of the legitimates of that day.

Application.

Dr. Smollett, in his History of England, has attempted to give a character of Cromwell, and allowing a little for the known prejudice of that writer, in favour of high prerogative, appears to have described the most prominent features of his mind: "Oliver Cromwell," says he, "was of a robust make and constitution, and his aspect manly, though clownish. His education extended no further than a superficial knowledge of the Latin tongue; but he inherited great talents from nature; though they were such as he could not have exerted to advantage at any juncture but that of a civil war, inflamed by religious contests. His character was formed from an amazing conjunction of hypocrisy, enthusiasm, and ambition. He was possessed of courage and resolution that overlooked all dangers and saw no difficulties. He dived into the characters of mankind with wonderful sagacity, while he concealed his own purposes under the impenetrable shield of dissimulation. He reconciled the most atrocious crimes to the most rigid notions of religious obligations. From the severest exercise of devotion, he relaxed into the most ludicrous and idle buffoonery. He preserved the dignity and distance of his character in the midst of the coarsest familiarity. He was cruel and tyrannic from policy, just and temperate from inclination, perplexed and despicable in his discourse, clear and consummate in his designs, ridiculous in his reveries, and respectable in his conduct; in a word the strangest compound of villany and virtue, baseness and magnanimity, absurdity and good sense, that we find upon record in the annals of mankind." This description contains all the prominent lineaments of Cromwell's character. Some have pretended to describe him in fewer words, but not so justly. Cardinal Mazarine used to term him a *fortunate madman*. Father Orleans, a *judicious villain*. Lord Clarendon says he was a brave but a wicked man. Another writer observes he was a tyrant without vices, and a prince without virtues. The first part of this definition is intelligible, the latter is false; for the greatest virtues that a prince can possess are a love of justice and humanity, and these qualities were eminently conspicuous in Cromwell.

We must now speak of Oliver's intrigues;—for mind, with all his saintship, he was but a frail vessel. After he arrived at power he frequently indulged himself with the company of ladies; and that not in the most innocent manner. Lady Dysert, afterwards Duchess of Lauderdale, and Mrs. Lambert have been frequently assigned as his mistresses. The former was witty, learned, and full of intrigue; Mrs. Lambert employed herself only in praying and singing hymns. His intercourse with the gay lady Dysert gave such offence to the godly, that he was obliged to decline his visits to her, but not, it is said, till she had given birth to general Tollemache. Heath, in his Flagellum, says, Mrs. Lambert was a woman of good birth and good parts, and of pleasing attractions both for mind and body. It was a court jest that the protector's instrument of government was found under my Lady Lambert's petticoats. Though his intercourse with Lady Dysert had given such mortal offence, the saints could see no harm in his holding heavenly communion with the sweet Mrs. Lambert. Dr. Millington is thought to have owed his birth to this spiritual connexion. In the register of Strensham in Worcestershire, after the Dr.'s name is "Query, was not he a bastard of Oliver Cromwell?" There is little doubt but the protector had natural children; but the great scandal it would have given, had the puritans known of his

amours, and the advantages the cavaliers would have derived from it, rendered him very sly in his intrigues.*

Oliver had eight legitimate children; all of whom, with the exception perhaps of Richard, were distinguished for their virtue and good sense. Henry, his fourth son, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, was a man of great humanity and undoubted capacity. His daughters all married men eminent in their day; Bridget married Ireton, formerly a lawyer, then Lord Deputy in Ireland, and an inflexible republican. After Ireton's death she was united to General Fleetwood. His second and favourite daughter Elizabeth, married John Claypoole, Esq. master of the horse. We have already alluded to the many virtues of this distinguished lady, and the terrible blow her death inflicted on the protector. His third daughter married Lord Falconbridge, a nobleman of amiable manners and enterprising genius. His youngest, Lady Frances, married the grandson of the Earl of Warwic; a nobleman with whom Oliver had long maintained a familiar and confidential correspondence.

As a specimen of the courtly style in use towards the protector's family, we shall transcribe a relation of the marriage of Lady Mary from the *Mercurius Politicus*, the gazette of that time: "Whitehall, Tuesday, November 17. Yesterday afternoon his highness went to Hampton-court, and this day the most illustrious lady the Lady Mary Cromwell, third daughter of his highness the Lord Protector, was there married to the most noble lord, the Lord Falconbridge, in the presence of their highnesses and many noble persons."

Oliver during his life was courted with the most fulsome panegyric, especially by those who after his death were the first to revile his memory. Dr. Daubeny drew a parallel betwixt Moses the man of God and Oliver the protector; he made out, as he fancied, thirty-two points of resemblance. Bishop Down, another parasite of the opposite party compared the *blessed martyr* to Jesus Christ, and contended that putting the tyrant to death was more infamous than the crucifixion of Jesus. Every age has a certain number of such vermin: formerly it was Sibthorp, Jefferies, Manwaring, Down, and Daubeny; now it is Marshall, Best, Warren, Southey, Stewart, Gifford, and Stodart.

Many thought Cromwell the long promised Messiah. A celebrated Asiatic Jew came into England to examine his genealogy and trace him up to the stem of Jesse, the father of David. It is not surprising the Jews should be misled, Shiloh, according to their creed, being to appear in great power and temporal glory, and Cromwell being attended with all these circumstances.

The Cromwell family being numerous, many branches still survive. The present representative of this illustrious house, is Mr. Oliver Cromwell, the author of the History of the Protectoral House, which has lately appeared. The father of this gentleman was grandson to the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, and held rather an humble rank in society for a descendant of the great Oliver, being a grocer, which business he carried on upon Snow-hill, London. His virtues and exemplary life entitled him to a more elevated employment; he retired from business, and died in Bridgewater-square, October 2, 1748, and was buried in his own vault on the north side of Bunhill-fields. He was twice married, first to the daughter of Mr. John Tidman, a reputable tradesman; his second wife was Mary, the daughter of Nicholas Skinner, a merchant in London. By his former marriage he had five children: by the latter six.

Mr. Oliver Cromwell is the issue of the second marriage. This gentleman we believe has retired and resides in the country. He was originally bred an attorney; latterly a solicitor in chancery; resided in Essex-street, Strand, and was clerk to St. Thomas's Hospital in London. Mr. Cromwell is described as a gentleman highly respected by a very numerous acquaintance; and while in his profession, his practice was very great, many of the nobility being his clients. The Cromwellian phy-

* Noble's Memoirs, v. i. p. 127.

siognomy is not intirely obliterated; Mr. Cromwell retaining a strong resemblance to his mighty progenitor. In his possession is a large broad sword, supposed to have been wielded by the protector; it is stained, apparently with blood; also his dagger, the blade of which is nine inches in length, with an handle of alabaster, exquisitely beautiful; likewise his highness's iron cap or head-piece, covered with black velvet; not improbably the cap mentioned in history to be worn by him at the battle of Naseby.

Some of the female branches of the Cromwells lately resided at Stoke Newington.

XXVIII.—RICHARD CROMWELL,

PROTECTOR.

AND it came to pass that the man Richard was presently found to be incapable of the reins of government; he had neither capacity to manage, judgement to guide, nor resolution to hold them;

And it came to pass that the man Richard—neither capacity to manage.] Richard was quite the reverse of his father; without ambition, intrigue, or a taste for public business; and it is even said he was without religion. Having attained his twenty-first year, he was admitted to the society of Lincoln's Inn, but took no pains to gain a knowledge of the law. While the kingdom was rent asunder by faction and civil war, he lived ingloriously in the Temple, spending his time chiefly in the pursuits of pleasure; and what is still more remarkable, when his father was fighting the battles of parliament, he was the companion of the most loyal cavaliers, and joined in drinking health and success to the sovereign whom his father was dethroning. There needs no greater proof of his incapacity than Oliver never placing him in any public situation, but suffering him to reside in the country, where he spent his time in hunting, hawking, and other rural diversions.

After the downfall of the family, Richard lived many years on the continent. At Pezenas, Lord Clarendon relates, that he was introduced to the Prince of Conti as an English gentleman, not wishing to be known as the son of the protector. The prince discoursing on the affairs of England, asked many questions concerning the king; whether all men were quiet and submitted obediently to him; which Richard briefly answered. "Well," continued the prince, "Oliver, though he was a traitor and a villain, was a brave fellow, had great parts, great courage, and was worthy to command; but that *Richard*, that coxcomb, coquin, poltroon, was surely the basest fellow alive! What has become of that fool? How is it possible that he should be such a sot?" Richard quickly took his leave; and the next day left the town, fearing to be discovered to be the very fool and coxcomb whom the prince had complimented so liberally.

Richard resided a long time at Cheshunt, a few miles from London, under the assumed name of Wallis. His only son dying without issue, he became intitled to a life estate in the manor of Hursley, and sent his youngest daughter down to take

wherefore the parliament took from him the protectorship, and deposed him from the government.

And now the commonwealth was left to drive at random, the government being sometimes administered by a council of officers, and sometimes by a thing called a committee of safety, and great confusion ensued in the land.

And there dwelt a man in the northern part o. the island, which is

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possession, which she did; but she and her sister seem to have followed the example of the ungrateful daughters of Lear. Having got possession of the estate they refused to surrender it, pretending he was superannuated, and proposed allowing him a small sum yearly; this he refused and commenced a law-suit to obtain possession. Being obliged to appear in court in person, his sister, Lady Fauconberg, sent her coach and equipage to conduct him thither; where the judge, Sir Nathan Wright, struck with his venerable appearance, the sad reverse of fortune he exhibited, and the unnatural conduct of his daughters, treated him in the most respectful manner. His lordship not only directed him to be conducted into an adjoining apartment, where refreshments were provided, and where he remained till the cause came on, but ordered that a chair should be brought into court; and insisted, upon account of his advanced age, that he would sit covered. The opposite counsel objecting to the indulgence of a chair, the worthy judge replied, "I will allow of no reflexions to be made, but that you go to the merits of the cause."

In retiring from Westminster-hall, Richard's curiosity led him to the House of Lords, when some person asking him, as the house broke up, if he had ever heard or seen any thing like it before? he replied, "Never since I sat in that chair;" pointing to the throne. This inoffensive being enjoyed a good state of health to the last, and was so hale and hearty that he would gallop his horse for several miles together. He died July 12, 1712, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, at Cheshunt, in the house of Sergeant Pengelly, a supposed natural son of Richard's, and whose filial affection far exceeded that of his legitimate daughters. His remains were deposited in the chancel of the church at Hursley.

And there dwelt a man in the northern part of the island—whose name was Monk.] A very artful and politic character. In bringing about the restoration of the King, he displayed the most consummate hypocrisy, selfishness, and cunning. The parties concerned in the restoration stipulated only for themselves, nothing for the rights and liberties of the people. In a word, the kingdom was sold to the Stuarts for grants, pensions, and titles. George Monk and Sir John Grenville being the chief chapmen. According to this bargain, Monk was to be created Duke of Albemarle, and receive an estate of inheritance of £7000 a year. Sir John Grenville was to be made Earl of Bath, have all his debts and those of his father paid, and receive an estate of at least £3000 per annum.*

The lurking propensities of Monk towards the exiled family, did not escape the penetrating eye of Cromwell. In the postscript to a letter addressed to Monk himself, a little before the Protector's death, are these remarkable words: "There be that tell me that there be a certain *cunning fellow* in Scotland, called *George Monk*, who is said to be in wait there to introduce *Charles Stuart;* I pray you use your dili-

* Biographia Britannica, vol. iv. p. 2332.

called Scotland, whose name was Monk: moreover he was the governor thereof, and a great warrior.

Now this man, taking advantage of the public distractions, assembled an army and marched to London, declaring for a restoration of the king.

And the people were terrified at his presence, or peradventure they were weary with perpetual changes and commotions; wherefore they agreed to his proposals, and sent messengers unto the king, who was then in Holland, desiring his return.

And it came to pass on the 29th day of the fifth month, which is called May, that the king was conducted in great state to his palace at Whitehall, and all the people shouted, saying, *Long live the King.*

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gence to apprehend him and send him up to me."—*Biog. Brit. art. Monk.* By the places and grants conferred on General Monk, he was enabled to amass the enormous sum of £400,000 within eight years after the restoration. The family, though ancient, had fallen into poverty and obscurity. By the return of the Stuarts it became the most powerful in the kingdom. Monk died possessed of an estate worth £15,000 per annum, besides £60,000 personal, which he left to his only son Christopher, then a minor, and with whom the family became extinct.

His memory has been charged with three flagrant offences: *first,* occasioning the death of the Duke of Argyle, by betraying private correspondence; *secondly,* proposing the King's marriage with Catharine of Portugal; *thirdly,* of not only consenting to, but advising the sale of Dunkirk.

And it came to pass on the 29th day—called May.] Charles was thirty years of age when he was restored to the throne. He possessed a vigorous constitution, a fine shape, manly figure, and graceful air. The most extravagant joy appears to have pervaded the country on the occasion. Several persons, especially a poor mathematician, named Oughtred, died through excess of joy, and several women miscarried. The Commons were as mad as the nation: they voted 500 pounds to buy a jewel for Sir John Greenville, who brought the first message from the King: a present of £50,000 was bestowed on Charles; £10,000 on the Duke of York, £5000 pounds on the Duke of Gloucester, and so on.

Application.

Having arrived at the era of the restoration, we shall select the most remarkable facts in the history of the manners, finances, arts, and sciences of this period.

Hume observes, that no people could undergo a more sudden and entire change in character than did the English nation about this time. From tranquillity, submission, and sobriety, they passed almost in an instant to a state of faction, fanaticism, rebellion, and almost frenzy. Between the two great factions, the royalists and parliamentarians, there subsisted the most irreconcileable hostility, heightened by the two great sources of animosity, religion and politics. No social intercourse was maintained between the parties; no marriages or alliances contracted. Their manners were as opposite as those of two distant nations. *Your friends the cavaliers,* said a parliamentarian to a royalist, *are very dissolute and debauched. True,* replied the

royalist, *they have the infirmities of men; but your friends, the Roundheads, have the vices of devils—tyranny, rebellion, and spiritual pride.*

It is certain the gloomy enthusiasm of the parliamentarians carried them to the most ridiculous austerities. All recreations were in a manner suspended by their severities: horse-races, bear-baitings, and cock-matches, were prohibited as the greatest enormities. The *sport*, not the *inhumanity*, gave offence. All holidays were abolished, and amusements on the Sabbath severely prohibited; so that no time was left for relaxation and diversion. Upon application, however, of the servants and apprentices, parliament appointed the second Tuesday in every month for play and recreation. But these institutions were found difficult to execute, and the people were resolved to be merry when they pleased, not when the parliament should prescribe it to them. The keeping of the Christmas holidays was long a great mark of ungodliness, and severely censured by the Commons. Even pies, which custom had made a Christmas dish, were regarded as a profane and superstitious viand by the puritans; though at other times it agreed very well with their stomachs. Maypoles were abolished as an heathenish vanity. But what was still more horrible, during the reign of the saints, fornication for the second offence was made a FELONY, without benefit of clergy. We never heard of such a monstrous enactment, in any age or nation. It is hardly necessary to remark, that hypocrisy was never so prevalent in England as in this period. This must invariably be the case, when a foolish and unphilosophical effort is made to introduce a system of manners, (erroneously termed virtue,) beyond what is compatible with human nature and the real happiness of society.

Among the enthusiasts who sprung up at this period, we must mention the origin of the *Quakers*. GEORGE FOX, born at Drayton, in Lancashire, in 1624, was the founder of this sect. He was the son of a weaver, and was himself bound apprentice to a shoemaker. Feeling a stronger impulse towards spiritual contemplation than to last and leather, he deserted his master, and strolled about the country, clothed in a leathern doublet. He frequently wandered into the woods, and passed whole days in hollow trees, without company, or any other amusement than his Bible. Filled with the holy spirit, as he imagined, that guided the apostles and prophets, he sallied forth and began to make proselytes. All men's minds were now turned toward religion, and as, like fashions, the most extravagant was sure to be the most popular, George soon obtained followers. All the forms of ceremony invented by pride and ostentation, Fox and his disciples, from a *superior pride and ostentation*, carefully rejected: even the ordinary rites of civility were shunned as the nourishment of carnal vanity and self-conceit. They would bestow no titles of distinction; the name of *friend* was the only salutation with which they indiscriminately accosted every one. To no person would they make a bow, or move their hat, or give any sign of reverence. Instead of the fashionable mode of addressing one as many, they returned to the simplicity of ancient tongues; and *thou* and *thee* were the only expressions they would on any account employ.

Dress was considered of immense importance by these coxcomb enthusiasts. Every superfluity and ornament was carefully retrenched. No plaits to their coat, no buttons to their sleeves, no lace, no ruffles, no embroidery. Even a button to the hat, though sometimes useful, yet not being always so, was rejected with horror. All rites, forms, orders, and ceremonies were considered abominations. Even the sabbath they considered a profane institution. The holiness of churches they derided, calling them *shops* or *steeple-houses*. No priests were admitted into their sects: every one had received from immediate illumination a character superior to the sacerdotal. When they met for divine worship, each rose up in his place and delivered the extemporary inspirations of the spirit. Women were also admitted to teach the brethren, and were considered chosen vessels to convey the emanations of the Holy Ghost. Sometimes a great many preachers were moved to speak at once; sometimes a total silence prevailed in their congregation.

Richard Cromwell.

Some Quakers attempted to fast forty days in imitation of Christ in the wilderness, and one of them bravely perished in the experiment. A female Quaker came naked into the church where Oliver sat; being moved by the spirit, as she said, to appear *as a sign* to the people. A number of them fancied that the renovation of all things had commenced, and that clothes, with other superfluities, were to be rejected.

James Naylor, a quaker, noted for blasphemy, or rather madness, made a great noise at the time of the Protectorship. He fancied that he himself was transformed into Christ, and was become the real saviour of the world; and, in consequence of this frenzy, attempted to imitate many of the miracles related in the evangelists. As he bore a resemblance to the common pictures of Jesus, he allowed his beard to grow in like form. He *raised a person from the dead*;—at least *Dorcas Earberry* made *oath* before a magistrate, that she had been dead two days, and Naylor brought her to life.* He was ministered unto by women. He entered Bristol mounted on a horse, asses being then scarce, though now plentiful in that city. His disciples spread their garments before him, and cried, *Hosannah to the highest, holy, holy is the Lord God of Sabbaoth.* When carried before the magistrates, he would give no other answer to all questions than *Thou hast said it.*

What is remarkable, parliament sat ten days deliberating how they might dispose of this fellow. They condemned him to be pilloried, whipped, burned in the face, and have his tongue bored through with a red hot iron. All these severities he bore with patience: so far his delusion supported him. But the sequel spoiled all. He was sent to Bridewell, confined to hard labour, fed on bread and water, and debarred from all his disciples, male and female. His illusion dissipated, and after some time he was content to come out an ordinary man, and returned quietly to his trade. Many of the Quakers were whipped, pilloried, and otherwise cruelly treated. Foolish punishments! instead of solitary confinement, like Naylor's; the best treatment of religious distemper when it becomes a public nuisance.

The whole revenue of the public, during the Protectorship of Richard, was estimated at £1,868,719. His annual expenses at £2,201,540. Sequestrations, compositions, sales of church and crown lands, and of the lands of delinquents, yielded considerable sums during the commonwealth. Church lands are said to have been sold for above a million. The resources of the country were never so conspicuous as during the republican government. At the time of the battle of Worcester, the parliament had on foot about 30,000 men, partly militia, partly regular forces. Charles the First was never able to raise more than a revenue of £900,000, and of this sum £200,000 was illegally obtained. A striking contrast of the resources of a government supported or opposed by the people.

Commerce increased greatly about this time. The trade to the East Indies and Guinea became considerable. The English possessed almost the exclusive trade to Spain. Twenty thousand cloths were annually sent to Turkey. From religious persecution the colonies in America rapidly augmented. The puritans fled to New England, to avoid the restraints imposed upon them by Laud and the church party. For a like reason the Catholics, finding themselves exposed to many hardships, and dreading still worse treatment, went over and settled the colony of Maryland.

The first mention of tea, coffee, and chocolate, is about 1660. Asparagus, artichokes, cauliflowers, and a variety of salads, were about the same time introduced into England.†

A volume might be written upon the progress of the literature and science of this period. Cromwell, though of no great attainments himself, was a friend to literary merit. Usher, notwithstanding his being a bishop, received a pension from him. Milton and Marvel were in his service. Waller, who was his relation, was caressed by him. He gave a hundred pounds a-year to the divinity professor at Oxford; and he intended to have erected a college, at Durham, for the benefit of the northern counties. Among

* Hume's Hist. vol. vii. p. 336. † Ibid. p. 340.

other men of genius who flourished, we may add Hervey, famous for the discovery of the circulation of the blood. Harrington, author of the Oceana, an imaginary republic, justly admired as a work of genius and invention. Clarendon and Burnet were the principal historians, and Hobbes the principal philosopher.

XXIX.—CHARLES II.

Now as many enormous crimes had been committed by men of all degrees, insomuch that it was apprehended great numbers, not thinking themselves safe, would depart out of the land; the first thing that the King set himself to do was to publish an act of indemnity.

Howbeit, he excepted out of it forty and nine persons, who had been principally concerned in the murder of his father. Nevertheless, only ten of them were executed.

And the King repealed all laws that had been made in favour of a popular government; moreover he restored the ancient discipline of the church, and replaced the bishops in their former dignity and jurisdiction.

Howbeit—only ten of them were executed.] These all behaved with the greatest firmness on their trial and execution. General Harrison affirmed that he acted in obedience to the Holy Spirit, whose direction in this important transaction he said had been the object of his devout and anxious supplication. Scott, who was an inflexible republican, had said in the House of Commons, a little before the restoration, that he desired no other epitaph to be inscribed on his tomb-stone than this: *Here lies Thomas Scott, who adjudged the King to death.* He supported the same spirit on his trial. Axtel, who had guarded the High Court of Justice; Hacker, who commanded on the day of the King's execution; Coke, the solicitor for the people of England; were tried and condemned, and suffered with the king's judges. All these met their death with the most undaunted firmness, and though treated with many indignities, showed not the least contrition for bringing a criminal to justice, who had attempted to subvert the constitution, whose multiplied falsehoods and hypocrisy had shown him not only unworthy of a throne, but even the smallest confidence.

And the King—replaced the bishops in their former dignity.] Nine bishops still remained alive, and were immediately restored to their sees. All the ejected clergy were restored to their livings, and the Liturgy again adopted into the church service. Still further to secure the church party, the Corporation Act, and the Act of Uniformity passed. The Corporation Act, besides expelling all those magistrates who were attached to the protectoral government, ordered that all magistrates should

About this time an insurrection happened in London, set on foot by a small remnant of enthusiasts, not more than fifty, in order to destroy all the monarchies of the earth.

These mad religionists were called *fifth monarchy men*, who by reading the prophecies of Daniel, and the revelations of John, had persuaded themselves that the time of our Saviour's visible reign on earth was come; and therefore it was their duty to take up arms for King JESUS against the powers of the world, and that no weapon formed against them should prosper, but that one should chase a thousand, and two put ten thousand to flight.

In confidence of this prophecy being fulfilled, they declared that they would rise up against the carnal, and possess the gate of the world; that they would never sheath the sword till Babylon (as they called monarchy) should become a hissing and a curse, and there were left neither remnant, son nor nephew: And that when they had led captivity captive in England, they would then go into France, Spain, and Germany, and bind their kings in chains, and their nobles in fetters of iron.

Howbeit these miserable men were deluded, being cut off in the

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declare their belief, that it was not lawful, on any pretence whatever, to resist the King and take up arms against his authority. By the Bill of Uniformity, it was required that every clergyman should be re-ordained, if he had not before received episcopal ordination; should declare his assent to every thing contained in the book of common prayer; and should renounce the principle of taking arms against the King, on any pretence whatever. An admirable comment on these doctrines was exhibited in the following reign. Rather than subscribe to the act of Uniformity, 2000 of the clergy relinquished their livings, and thus exhibited a noble example of disinterestedness by sacrificing their interests to their religious principles.

Howbeit these miserable men were deluded.] This small band of madmen were subdued with the greatest difficulty. Venner, their preacher, a furious zealot, having inflamed his own imagination and that of his followers, issued forth at their head into the city. They were completely armed, believed themselves invincible, and expected the same success which had attended Gideon and other heroes in the Old Testament. They went triumphantly from street to street, every where proclaiming *King Jesus*, who they said was their invisible leader. At length the magistrates having assembled some train bands, made an attack upon them. They defended themselves with skill as well as valour; and after killing many of the assailants, made a regular retreat into Caenwood, near Hampstead. Next morning they were chased thence by a detachment of the guards; but they returned again to invade the city, which was unprepared to receive them. After traversing almost every street, and committing

city by the edge of the sword, even by the train-bands of the city were they destroyed.

Now it came to pass that Charles gave a loose to his appetites, and indulged himself in all manner of delights; and he sent forth his pimps and his nobles throughout all the land to search for the most beautiful women that could be found.

And they ministered unto the King according to his wishes: One brought him eyes that melted with a dying softness; another lips that seemed to say come kiss me; this brought him snowy breasts whose heaving softness swelled with love, and that a shape whose wanton motions seemed to promise bliss luxuriant.

Now the King was pleased therewith, and he was enamoured of them all; and he put forth his scepter unto them, and the land was filled with royal bastards.

Moreover the nation taking example from the court, ran headlong into all manner of licentiousness and immorality. And having seen in the former reign all kinds of wickedness committed under the

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great disorder, they retired to a house which they resolved to defend to the last extremity. Being surrounded, and the house untiled, they were fired upon from every side, and still refused quarter. The people rushed in upon them, and seized the few who were alive. These were tried and executed, and to the last persisted in affirming, that if they were deceived, it was the Lord who had deceived them.

Now the King was pleased—put forth his sceptre—and the land was filled with royal bastards.] "At this time," says Burnet, "the court fell into much extravagance in masquerading; both King and Queen went about masked, and came into houses unknown, and danced there with a great deal of frolic. In all this they were so disguised that none could distinguish them."—*Hist. of his Own Time*, vol. i. p. 568. The licentiousness of the court exceeded any thing before known in the English history. Immense sums of the public money were lavished on the King's mistresses; public affairs were generally transacted at their apartments, and it was through their influence that the royal favour was usually purchased. Charles conferred on several of his mistresses the rank of Duchess. There remain no fewer than four members of the English peerage—namely, the Dukes of St. Albans, Queensberry, Grafton, and Richmond, the produce of his amours. Among the most celebrated of his mistresses we may mention the following:—Mrs. Palmer, afterwards Duchess of Cleveland, who long exercised an unbounded influence over the amorous monarch; La Querouaille, a French woman, created Duchess of Portsmouth, was sent over by Louis XIV. first to enslave the King by her charms, and then rule him conformably to the views of that ambitious sovereign; Davies and Nell Gwyn were actresses: the latter, according to Burnet, was the wildest and indiscreetest of all his favourites, and to whom Charles remained attached to the last.

mask of piety, the least appearance thereof was now thought hypocrisy.

All the wit of the nation was turned to the ridicule of religion and morality. The stage became a school of debauchery; and even the pulpit, fearing to be too grave for the times, abounded with wit: And whereas before, they used to seek the Lord and implore his direction even in the most trifling affairs, it was now deemed almost superstitious to believe in him.

Howbeit the religion of the King, says a noble author, was, that which is vulgarly, though unjustly, called *none at all*, namely deism.

But the anger of the Lord was kindled against the King and against

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Howbeit the religion of the King, says a noble author, was—none at all—Deism.] The Duke of Buckingham says, Charles was a deist. But his mind appears to have been unsettled on the subject; during youth, good health, and spirits, he professed a disbelief in Revelation, but in his last illness he took the sacrament according to the Catholic church: hence it might be inferred he belonged to that persuasion.

But the anger of the Lord was kindled—a dreadful pestilence.] The plague broke out in the beginning of May, 1665. The week in which it was first discovered, it carried off nine persons, and spread an universal dread through every rank in the metropolis; but in the week after, the sufferers being reduced to three, the fears of the citizens abated. In succeeding weeks, however, the number progressively increased, and in time the deaths were not less than 470 a week. The nobility, gentry, and principal citizens now fled with precipitation, and in July the number increasing to 2010, the generality of the houses were shut up, the streets deserted, and scarcely any thing to be seen in them but fires to purify the air; coffins, carts for the dead, doors marked with red crosses, and the inscription of *Lord have mercy upon us!* and little heard but the voice of lamentation, the groans of the dying, the tolling of bells for those that were ready for the grave, and the dismal call of *Bring out your dead!* In September, the number of dead amounted, in one week, to 6988; in the next week it decreased by nearly 400, but again rising to 7165, the survivors began to apprehend that the living would not be sufficient to bury the dead; in this however they were happily mistaken; the contagion gradually diminished; having swept away, according to an account collected from the bills of mortality, 68,596 persons.

The infection was supposed to have been imported from Holland, where the plague had made great ravages the year before; and unfortunately it was brought over at a time when the state of the atmosphere was peculiarly favourable to its prolongation. During its continuance there was a general calmness and serenity of weather; the wind scarcely moved the weather-cocks for many weeks, and there was no rain.

The plague had scarcely ceased, or those who had fled returned to their habitations, when the city was visited by another calamity, still more summary in its ravages. This was the *Fire of London*, which broke out on Sunday, September 2, 1666. This terrible conflagration began about one in the morning, in Pudding-lane, near New Fish-street; which being in a quarter of the town closely built with wooden pitched houses, spread itself so far before day-light, that it became too powerful to be mas-

the people of England, and he smote the land with a dreadful pestilence, insomuch that there died in one year upwards of sixty and seven thousand persons: moreover in the following year a terrible fire fell on the city of London, which in four days consumed the greatest part thereof.

Nevertheless these judgements made no impression on the spirit of Charles, who abandoned himself to his pleasures, and was carried away so violently by his lusts, that his whole time and his treasures were spent amongst harlots; and all matters relating to the government of his kingdoms were left unto the management of his brother the duke of York.

And Charles was guided by his brother in all things, insomuch that the people murmured greatly. Wherefore Killigrew the jester reported unto the courtiers, saying, The king is very ill, and hath got a sore nose.

Then went the courtiers in unto the king and condoled with him, saying, We are sorry to hear your majesty hath got a sore nose. Whereat the king marvelled greatly, asking who told them so? And they answered and said, Killigrew told us.

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tered by any engines or other means of extinction. A violent easterly wind spread the flames up Gracechurch-street, and downwards from Cannon-street to the water-side. It raged in a bright flame all Monday and Tuesday; but on the evening of the latter day, the fire meeting with brick buildings at the Temple, it was observed to abate its fury; and by blowing up the houses in other parts of the town, and thus cutting off the communication, it was subdued and wholly extinguished, on Thursday, the 6th of September.

Notwithstanding the extent of this conflagration, only six persons perished; but the destruction of churches, halls of companies, and other public buildings, and the houses of the inhabitants was immense. More than 400 streets and 13,000 houses were burned down. The property of all kinds destroyed by the fire was estimated at £7,385,000. Dreadful as this calamity was, at the time, to the inhabitants, it was productive of consequences which made ample amends for the losses sustained by individuals. Before the fire the streets were narrow, built chiefly of wood, and leaving little room for a free circulation of air, the metropolis was unhealthy, generally visited by the plague twice or thrice every century; a calamity which ceased after the fire.

And Charles—wherefore Killigrew—hath got a sore nose.] This is Tom Killigrew, son of Sir Robert Killigrew, of facetious memory. He was page to Charles I. and groom to Charles II. He wrote eleven plays, which were printed in a folio volume. He was twice married, and died in 1682, and was buried in Westminster-Abbey. He was a man of great wit, and in his company Charles spent many a vacant hour. There is little of the wit for which Killigrew was celebrated in conversation, to be found in his writings, which are remarkably dull.

Then the king sent messengers unto Killigrew, commanding him to come before him: and when he was come, the king said unto him, Why saidst thou, Killigrew, that I had got a sore nose? And Killigrew answered and said, I concluded it must be sore, because your majesty hath been led so long by it.

Howbeit the king liked not the jest; moreover he reproved his jester very severely. And (whether it was thought that majesty was too serious a joke to be laughed at, lest peradventure it should be made ridiculous; or that it was of too dangerous example, as it might sometimes set the whole nation a laughing at the king's expense; but) from that day no jester hath been kept in the king's court, only plain and solemn fools.

Now the rest of the acts of king Charles the second, and his wit, and his gallantries, and all his intrigues, behold thou mayest find them in bawdy novels unto this day.

And Charles slept with his fathers, after he had reigned over

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And Charles slept with his fathers.] The death of the king was attended with so many singular circumstances it may be proper to mention the most remarkable. All this winter, says Burnet, the king looked better than he had done for many years. He had a humour in his leg, which looked like the beginning of the gout; so that for some weeks he could not walk, as he used to do generally, three or four hours in the park; which he did commonly so fast, that while it afforded a real exercise to himself, it was with some difficulty his attendants could keep up with him. In the state the king was in, not being able to walk, he spent much time in his laboratory, and was running a process for the fixing of mercury. On the 1st of February, being Sunday, he eat little all day, and came to Lady Portsmouth, his favourite mistress, at night, and called for a porringer of meat. Being made too strong for his stomach, he eat little, and had a restless night. In the morning his physician, Dr. King, came to wait upon him, but his discourse was so incoherent, that he could not understand what he meant. The doctor concluded he was under some great disorder of either body or mind; and being alearmd went out, and meeting with Lord Peterborough, told him the king was in a strange humour, for he did not speak a word of sense. Lord Peterborough desired he would go in again to the bed-chamber, and he did; and he was scarce come in when the king, who seemed all the while in great confusion, fell down in a fit like an apoplexy; he looked black, and his eyes turned in his head. He was immediately let blood, which brought him out of that fit, but apprehending another, he was looked upon as a dead man.

Here commenced the ridiculous farce among the religionists to effect the conversion of the profligate. Being evidently in the agonies of death, or at least in a state of stupor, it might have been thought his conversion under such circumstances was not of much value to either sect; but the bishops and priests thought otherwise. The bishop of London first essayed his powers on the dying prodigal. The worthy prelate

England from the time of his restoration twenty and four years, eight months and nine days, and James his brother reigned in his stead.

enjoined him to prepare for whatever might be before him; to which the king made no reply. This was imputed to the bishop's cool way of speaking, and the ill opinion they had of him at court. Sancroft made a very weighty exhortation, in which he used a good deal of freedom, saying it was necessary, since the king was going to be judged by one who was no respecter of persons. To him the king made no answer neither; nor yet to Ken, though the most in favour with him of all the bishops. The reverend prelates were very much perplexed, attributed his silence to insensibility; especially since Lady Portsmouth sat in the bed, taking care of him as a wife of a husband. The real cause, however, was soon discovered; for it appeared that the king had determined to die a papist, though he had lived all his life either in the profession of deism, or the protestant faith.

On Thursday the king had another fit; and the physicians told the Duke of York, his brother and successor, that his majesty was not likely to live another day. On this the duke ordered Huddleston, the priest that had mainly contributed to the saving of Charles at Worcester, to be brought to the lodgings under the bed-chamber. When Huddleston was told what was to be done, he was in great confusion, for he had not brought the host. He went however to another priest who lived in the court, who gave him the pix with an host in it. Every thing being prepared, the duke whispered the king in the ear; upon that the king ordered that all who were in the bed-chamber should withdraw, except the earls of Bath and Feversham; and the door was double-locked.* The company was kept out half an hour; only Lord Feversham opened the door once, and called for a glass of water. Cardinal Howard told Bishop Burnet, that, in the absence of the company, Huddleston, according to the account he sent to Rome, made the king go through some acts of contrition; and after obtaining such a confession as he was then able to give, he gave him absolution. The consecrated wafer, made of paste, according to the belief of protestants, but a part of the body of Christ according to the persuasion of every good catholic, stuck in the king's throat, and that was the reason of calling for a glass of water. Charles told Huddleston that he had saved him twice, first his body then his soul. Burnet thinks the whole ceremony was performed very superficially. However this may be, when the company were admitted, they found the king had undergone a marvellous alteration; and the bishops, knowing the infamous life he had led, were quite amazed to observe the calmness and constancy with which he waited for death.

The papists having finished their part, another course of experiments was attempted by the protestant bishops. Ken applied himself vigorously to the awaking the king's conscience. He spoke with great elevation both of thought and expression, like a man inspired. He resumed the matter often, and pronounced many short ejaculations and prayers, which affected all present, except the party most concerned, who seemed to take no notice of him, and returned no answer. He pressed the king six or seven times to receive the sacrament. But the king always declined it, saying he was very weak. A table with the elements upon it, ready to be consecrated, was brought into the room; and Ken earnestly pressed the king to declare that he desired it, and that he died in the communion of the Church of England. To that he answered nothing. Ken asked him if he desired absolution of his sins. Charles thought at any rate this could do him no harm; so Ken pronounced it over him, for which

* Burnet's History of his Own Time, vol. ii. p. 282.

he was blamed, since the king expressed no sense of sorrow for his past life, nor any purpose of amendment. Ken was also censured for another piece of effrontery: he presented the Duke of Richmond, Lady Portsmouth's bastard, to be blessed by the dying king. Upon this some that were in the room cried out that the king was their *common father*. And upon that all knelt down for his blessing, which he gave them. The king suffered much inwardly, and said he was burnt up within; of which he complained often, but with great decency. He said once that he hoped he should climb up to heaven's gates, which was the only word savouring of religion that he uttered.

We now come to the closing scene which is very characteristic, and which we shall transcribe entire from Burnet:

"He gathered all his strength to speak his last words to the duke, to which every one hearkened with the greatest attention. He expressed his kindness to him, and that he now delivered all over to him with great joy. He recommended Lady Portsmouth over and over again to him. He said he had always loved her, and he loved her now to the last; and besought the duke in as melting words as he could fetch out, to be very kind to her and to her son. He recommended his other children to him; and concluded, let not *poor Nelly starve*; that was Mrs. Gwyn. *But he said nothing of the queen, nor any one word of his people, nor of his servants: nor did he speak one word of religion, or concerning the payment of his debts, though he left behind him about* 90,000 *guineas*, which he had gathered either out of the privy purse, or out of money sent him from France, or by other methods, and which he kept so secretly that no person whatsoever knew any thing of it."—*Burnet's History of his Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 284.

Charles lingered till Friday, 6th of February, 1685, when he expired, in the fifty-fourth year of his age. His death has been ascribed to poison; but there appears no evidence sufficient to warrant such a supposition. The narrative we have given of his last illness affords a curious specimen of the officiousness of priests, and of the hardened profligacy of the king.

Application.

As a man and a prince, there are few characters more detestable than Charles II. Weakness, levity, folly, indolence, profligacy, and wickedness in almost every shape were the distinguishing features of his character. These qualities were exemplified throughout his whole reign, and even before his reign commenced. During his exile he delivered himself so entirely to his pleasures that he became wholly incapable of application. He spent little of his time in reading and study, and still less in thinking. So indifferent was he to his situation, that it is said, that had Cromwell offered him a good round pension, he would have readily resigned to him his title to the crown. On all occasions he was accustomed to say, without any regard to truth, what he thought would be most acceptable, so that his words and promises flowed very freely, and in the end no one had the least confidence in his professions. He entertained a most infamous opinion of mankind; believing that people in all their actions are actuated solely by self-interest; hence he never manifested any gratitude towards those who had assisted him in his adversity; and his favours were as readily conferred on the enemies of his family as those who had shed their blood in its defence. During the more active part of his life he was so completely given up to sloth and lewdness that he scarcely took any part in public affairs, and they were left entirely to the management of his brother and ministers. Though he was anxious to become absolute and overturn both the religion and liberties of the people; yet he was so mean and selfish in his nature, that he was too cowardly to run the risk, and too indolent to take the trouble so great an undertaking required. He had an appearance of gentleness in his outward deportment; but his heart was void of humanity, and in the end of his reign he became cruel. Merciful from indifference or caprice, he sometimes pardoned the most enormous crimes, even blood itself; but after the Act of Indemnity, a measure originating more in policy than humanity, he never forgave

any offence which menaced his own personal safety. In his hating of business and his love of pleasure; his raising of favourites and trusting them intirely; his pulling them down and hating them excessively; his art of covering the deepest designs, especially revenge, with an appearance of gentleness and affability; he strongly resembled the Roman Emperor Tiberius; but if their vices were equal, the Roman tyrant far surpassed Charles in ability, wisdom, foresight, and industry.

If there were any quality in Charles entitled to the name of virtue, it was his manners. He is described as the best bred man of his age. "He loved," says Burnet, "to talk over all the stories of his life to every new man that came about him. His stay in Scotland, and the share he had in the war of Paris, in carrying messages from one side to the other, were his common topics. He went over these in a very graceful manner, but so often and copiously, that all those who had been long accustomed to them grew weary of them; and when he entered on these stories they usually withdrew, so that he often began them in a full audience, and before he had done, there were not above four or five left about him, which drew a severe jest from Wilmot, Earl of Rochester: he said he wondered to see a man have so good a memory as to repeat the same story without losing the least circumstance, and yet not remember that he had told it to the same persons the day before."—*History of his Own Time*, vol. ii. p. 289.

Lord John Russell endeavours to extenuate the dissolute manners of Charles. "Charles II." he says, "in the station of a private gentleman would have been universally liked. Few men had such captivating manners, and no man ever united wit and good-nature in society to a greater degree. He had a natural kindness of temper which influenced his moral conduct, and prevented his becoming the oppressor of his queen when he could not be constant to her; nor was his inclination for women gratified with so much contempt of virtue as decency. His mistresses appear to have been ready to err, even though their tempter had not worn a crown. No unsuspecting innocence was betrayed, no conjugal felicity ever destroyed, by his amours. During the latter part of his life he lived with women rather to indulge indolence than to gratify desire."—*Life of William Lord Russell*, p. 40, 8vo. Reresby says, "If love prevailed with him more than any other passion, he had this for his excuse, besides that his complexion was of an amorous sort, the women seemed to be the aggressors; and I have since heard the king say, that they would sometimes offer themselves to his embrace."

If what these writers state be true, no doubt it is some extenuation of his licentiousness. But it is possible that a love of the public money, which was lavished in immense sums upon his mistresses, as well as a personal attachment might induce some ladies to offer themselves to the embraces of the amorous monarch. It is certain, however, that the example of Charles and his courtiers had a most pernicious influence on the manners of the country. Under the patronage of the court, the stage united the profligacy of the French with the coarseness of English manners. Nearly all the actresses were in the keeping, many of them the wives of the nobility. The king was forward to encourage by his example the most unbounded license in conversation as well as conduct. The coarsest jests, and the most indecent words were admitted among the higher classes, and even disgraced the literature of the day. But it was not merely the venial offences of gallantry and dissipation of which the court was charged, crimes still more atrocious appear to have been perpetrated with impunity. Sir John Denham and Lord Chesterfield had both been accused of murdering their wives by poison, and the latter is said to have added greater horror to his offence by administering the fatal dose in the holy wine of the communion. The Duke of Buckingham, one of the famous, or rather infamous, junto that formed the cabal was the avowed lover of the Countess of Shrewsbury; and it is said that she held his horse in the dress of a page, whilst he fought with and killed her husband. Such are the exploits which illustrate the gallantry and gaiety of this famous reign.*

* Life of Lord Russell, p. 46.

The external policy of the court was disgraceful and iniquitous beyond example. All his life Charles was a pensioner on Louis XIV. and instead of supporting the Dutch against the projects of that ambitious monarch, he ranged himself on the side of their powerful enemy. By the memorable treaty at Versailles, in 1670. a plan was formed for the re-establishment of the Roman Catholic religion, and an absolute government in England, and also for the dismemberment of the Dutch republic. These changes were to be effected by the money and troops of France. According to the terms of this treaty, Charles was to receive £200 000 a year, in quarterly payments, to enable him to establish the Catholic religion; and in case of any insurrection, Louis was to furnish him with an army of 6000 men. When this work was finished, England was to join France in making war upon Holland. It is said, Charles wept for joy when this scandalous treaty was concluded.

We shall conclude our account of this prince, with relating two *swindling* transactions in which he was implicated; they are mentioned by Dr. Burnet, in his history of this period, and will show the meanness and injustice of which he was capable. A gentleman of a noble family, being at a public supper with much company, some hot words passed betwixt him and another gentleman, which raised a sudden quarrel: only three persons engaged in it. Swords were drawn, and one was killed outright; but it was not certain by whose hand he was killed, so that both were indicted for it. The proofs did not carry it beyond manslaughter, no proofs of any previous malice appearing. Yet the young gentleman was prevailed upon to confess the indictment, and to let sentence pass upon him for murder; a pardon being promised him if he should do so, and being threatened with the utmost penalty of the law if he stood upon his defence. After the sentence had passed, it appeared upon what design he had been practised upon. His family was rich, and not very well affected to the court; so he was told he must pay very well for his pardon; and it cost him £16,000; of which the King had one-half, the other half being divided betwixt two favourite mistresses. The other anecdote to which we allude, was equally disgraceful to a king. The Earl of Clancarty, in Ireland, when he died, had left his lady guardian of his children. It was one of the noblest and richest families in Ireland, and had always been papists. But the lady was a protestant; and wishing to bring up her son in her own persuasion, she brought him to Oxford, and put him under the care of Fells, Bishop of that diocese. Lord Clancarty had an uncle, Colonel Maccardy, who was in most things, where his religion was not concerned, a man of honour. This uncle, to pervert his nephew, and advance his own interest at court, got Charles to write to the Bishop of Oxford, to let the young lord come up and see the diversions of the town in Christmas time, to which the Bishop consented. When he came to town, he was inveigled into matrimony with one of Lord Sunderland's daughters, and shortly after turned papist. Thus did Charles become an instrument in the perpetration of a great crime, by taking an infant out of the hands of his guardian and secretly marrying him.

XXX.—JAMES II.

Now James was a worshipper of the church of Rome, he bowed

Now James was a worshipper of the church of Rome.] This prince was, at least, superior to his brother in the virtue of sincerity. Charles had lived in the open profes-

the knee unto her idols, and went a whoring after all her abominations: her bowings, her washings, her sprinklings, her holy vestments, her incense, her ointments, her absolutions, her masses, her crosses, her idols, her miracles, her lies.

Moreover he was a zealous bigot to all the absurd and foolish tenets, which the cunning of her priests have invented to delude the ignorant and enslave the mighty.

Nevertheless, when he ascended the throne of England, he made a speech to the people, declaring he would support the constitution both in church and state, as it was by law established.

Howbeit he afterwards thought fit to act contrary to this declara-

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sion of protestantism, while in his heart he was a catholic, but James, before his accession, avowed his attachment to the church of Rome; and it was on this account a strenuous effort was made by Lord Russell, Shaftesbury, Halifax, Sydney, and other patriots, to cut off the succession by the exclusion bill. It is related of this prince, while Duke of York, that, on a voyage to Scotland, the vessel struck on a bank and was lost. The Duke escaped in the barge; and it is said, that while many persons of rank and quality were drowned, and among the rest, Hyde, his brother-in-law, he was very careful to save several of his dogs and priests. It was likewise said, that the barge might safely have held more persons, and that some who swam to the boat were thrust off, and even their hands cut, in order to disengage them. This anecdote will not appear improbable, when the countenance which James gave to the horrid cruelties of Kirke and Jeffries, is remembered.

Nevertheless, when he ascended the throne—as by law established.] He told the privy council, and also the parliament, of his determination to maintain the constitution both in church and state. Though he had been reported, he said, to have imbibed arbitrary principles, he knew that the laws were sufficient to make him as great a monarch as he could wish, and he was determined never to depart from them. And as he had heretofore ventured his life in the defence of the nation, he would still go as far as any man in defence of its just rights and liberties.—*Hume*, vol. viii. p. 215. This was all very fair; and the King being considered a man of great honour and sincerity, it was expected that his actions would be conformable to his professions. "We have now," said the people, "the word of a king; and a word never yet broken." Addresses came in from all parts, full of duty, some of the most servile adulation. Even the Quakers approached the throne with an address of condolence and congratulation. Their address was in the usual phraseology and affectation of sincerity of that sect. It was as follows: "We are come to testify our sorrow for the death of our good friend Charles, and our joy for thy being made our governor. We are told thou art not of the persuasion of the church of England, no more than we; wherefore we hope thou wilt grant us the same liberty which thou allowest thyself. Which doing, we wish thee all manner of happiness."

Howbeit—with a mental reservation.] All the Stuarts practised *mental reservation;* that is, promised one thing and meant another. This was allowed by the Jesuits, and, perhaps, by the papists generally. But James might allude to the maintenance of the constitution *as by law established.* It is remarkable that this phraseology is now

tion in every instance, peradventure he made it with a mental reservation for that very purpose.

And it came to pass, that the Lord stirred up the heart of the Duke of Monmouth, and he rebelled against him, and entered the

more than a century old, and still kept up. It does not signify the maintenance of the constitution, according to any legitimate principles, but the strict observance of every law, and the implicit obedience to every government, however unjust or tyrannical.

And it came to pass—the Duke of Monmouth.] James, Duke of Monmouth, was one of the many natural sons of Charles II. by Lucy Walters, and born about ten years before the restoration. He possessed all the qualities which could gain the affections of the populace; a distinguished valour, an affable address, a thoughtless generosity, a graceful person. He rose still higher in public favour, by reason of the universal hatred to which James, on account of his religion, was opposed. Monmouth's capacity was mean, his temper pliant: so that, notwithstanding his great popularity, he had never been dangerous to the King, had he not implicitly resigned himself to the guidance of Shaftesbury, a man of most restless temper, subtle wit, and abandoned principles. That daring politician had flattered Monmouth with the hope of succeeding to the crown. The story of a contract of marriage, passed between the late King and Monmouth's mother, and secretly kept in a certain black box, had been industriously spread abroad, and was greedily swallowed by the multitude. As the horrors of popery pressed hard upon them, it was not improbable that they should incline to adopt that fiction, or to commit an open violation on the right of succession. But Charles, before his death, in order to cut off all such expectations, as well as to remove the apprehensions of James, took care in full council to make a declaration of Monmouth's illegitimacy, and to deny all promise of marriage with his mother.

Monmouth afterwards became an exile on the continent. But his hopes of the succession were by no means destroyed. After the accession of James, in conjunction with the Earl of Argyle, he determined to make an effort to dispossess his rival by force. He landed at Lime, in Dorsetshire, with scarcely a hundred followers; yet so popular was his name, that, in the space of four days, he had assembled above two thousand horse and foot. The Duke of Albemarle, son to General Monk, who had restored the royal family, assembled the militia of Devonshire to the number of 4000 men, in order to oppose the insurgents; but observing that his troops bore a great affection to Monmouth, he thought proper to retire. Monmouth, though he had given many proofs of personal courage, had not the promptitude and vigour of mind necessary to this undertaking. From an ill-grounded diffidence in his men, he neglected to attack Albemarle, an easy enterprise, by which he would have encouraged his adherents, and have supplied himself with arms. Lord Gray, who commanded his horse, discovered himself to be a notorious coward; being sent out with a small party, he saw a few of the militia, and ran away; but his men stood firm, and the militia ran from them; yet such was the easiness of Monmouth's temper, that he continued Gray in his command. He intended to join Fletcher, of Saltoun, a Scotchman, a man of signal probity and fine genius, with him in the command. But an unfortunate accident deprived him of the services of this intrepid republican, whose principles had engaged him in the enterprise. He being sent out with another party, and not yet being furnished with a horse, took the horse of one who had brought in a large body of men from Taunton. The owner was not in the way to ask his leave, and Fletcher thought that all things were to be in common among them, which could advance the service. After his return, the owner, a rough ill-bred man, reproached him

land with an army; but he was defeated and taken prisoner, and his head was smitten off on Tower-hill.

in very injurious terms for taking his horse without leave. Fletcher bore this longer than could be expected from one of his impetuous temper. But the other persisted in his foul language, and offered a switch or cane; upon which he discharged his pistol and shot him dead.* He went and gave the Duke an account of the affair, who saw that it was impossible to keep him longer about him, without disgusting and losing the affection of the country people, who were coming in a body to demand justice. So he advised him to go aboard the ship, and sail on to Spain, whither she was bound. The loss of so gallant an officer was a great prejudice to Monmouth's enterprise.

The insurgents next advanced to Taunton, which gladly received them, and made a considerable addition to their numbers. Twenty young maids of some rank presented Monmouth with a pair of colours of their handywork, together with a copy of the Bible. He here was persuaded to take upon himself the title of king, and assert his legitimacy, a point which till then he had declined the discussion of. His numbers now had increased to six thousand; and he was obliged every day, for want of arms, to dismiss a great many who crowded to his standard. He entered Bridgewater, Wells, and Frome; and was proclaimed in all these places. But forgetting that such enterprises can only succeed by the most adventurous courage, he allowed the expectations of the people to languish, and although in possession of all the country for more than a fortnight, he attempted nothing considerable.

While Monmouth was wasting his time in the west, the king was making vigorous preparations to oppose him. Six regiments of British troops were called over from Holland; the army was considerably augmented; and regular forces, to the number of 3000, were despatched, under the command of Feversham and Churchill, to check the progress of the rebels.

Monmouth observing that no considerable men joined him, finding that an insurrection which was projected in the city had not taken place, and hearing that Argyle his confederate was already defeated and taken; sunk into such despondency, that he at once resolved to withdraw himself and leave his unhappy followers to their fate. His followers exhibited more courage than their leader, and seemed determined to adhere to him in every fortune. The negligent disposition made by Feversham, invited Monmouth to attack the King's army at Sedgemoor, near Bridgewater; and his men in this action showed what a native courage, and a principle of duty, even when unassisted by discipline, is able to perform. They threw the veteran forces into disorder; drove them from their ground; continued the fight till their ammunition failed them; and would at last have obtained a victory, had not the misconduct of Monmouth, and the cowardice of Gray, prevented it. After a combat of three hours the rebels gave way; and were followed with great slaughter. About 1500 men fell in the battle and pursuit. And thus concluded in a few weeks this rashly undertaken and badly conducted enterprise.

Monmouth fled from the field of battle above twenty miles, till his horse sunk under him. He then changed his clothes with a peasant, in order to conceal himself. The peasant was discovered by the pursuers, who now redoubled the diligence of their search. At last the unhappy Monmouth was found lying at the bottom of a ditch and covered with fern; his body depressed with fatigue and hunger; his mind by the memory of past misfortunes, by the prospect of future disasters. Human nature is unequal to such calamitous situations; much more the temper of a man, softened by early prosperity and accustomed to value himself solely on military bravery. He burst into tears when seized by his enemies; and he seemed still to indulge the fond hope and desire of life. Though he might have known, from the unrelenting severity of James's temper, that no mercy could be expected, he wrote him the most submis-

* Burnet, vol. ii. p. 327.

Many of his soldiers also were taken, insomuch that the prisons of the west were filled therewith.

And Jeffries the judge was appointed to try them: and behold it

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sive letters, and conjured him to spare the issue of a brother who had ever been so strongly attached to his interest. James finding such symptoms of depression and despondency in his prisoner, admitted him to his presence, in hopes of extorting a discovery of his accomplices: but Monmouth would not purchase life, however loved, at the price of so much infamy. Finding all efforts vain, he assumed courage from despair, and prepared himself for death, with a spirit better suited to his rank and character. The bishops endeavoured to impress upon him the deep sin of rebellion; but he gave no signs of repentance of his design. They next charged him with the sin of fornication, in living with Lady Wentworth. To this also he seemed insensible; and justified himself by saying that he was married to the Countess when too young to give his consent; and that Lady Wentworth was a pious worthy woman, and that in all respects he had never lived so well as since his engagements with her.

This favourite of the people was attended to the scaffold with a plentiful effusion of tears. When he saw the axe, he touched it and said it was not sharp enough. He gave the hangman only half the usual fee; and told him that if he cut off his head cleverly, and not so butcherly as he did the unfortunate Russell's, his man would give him the rest. This precaution served only to dismay the executioner. He struck a feeble blow on Monmouth, who, raising his head from the block, looked him in the face as if reproaching him for his failure. He gently laid down his head a second time; and the executioner struck him again and again to no purpose. He then threw aside the axe, and said he was incapable of finishing the bloody office. The sheriff obliged him to renew the attempt; and at two blows more the head was severed from his body.*

He was executed in the thirty-sixth year of his age, on the 25th July, 1685. He possessed many good qualities, and some that were bad. Had he lived in less turbulent times, he might have been an ornament to the court, and of service to his country. But the indulgence of Charles, the caresses of faction, and the allurements of popularity, seduced him into an enterprise which exceeded his capacity. The good will of the people followed him even after his death; and such was their fond attachment, that many believed he was still alive, and that some person resembling him had suffered in his stead.

Many soldiers also were taken.] Among others Lord Gray. This poltroon had a great estate, which by his death would descend to his brother. So the court resolved to preserve him till he should be brought to compound for his life. The Earl of Rochester had £16,000 of him. Others had smaller shares. He was likewise obliged to be witness against others, which he consented to do provided that no one should be put to death on his evidence. Lord Brandon was convicted on his and some other evidence; Mr. Hampden was also brought to trial. And he was told he must expect no favour, unless he pleaded guilty. To this, knowing that evidence might be adduced against him, he submitted; and begged his life, with such meanness, that he himself was so ashamed afterwards, that it threw him into a melancholy which he never mastered. And this had a terrible conclusion; for, about ten years after, he cut his throat.—*Burnet*, vol. ii. p. 333.

And Jeffries the judge was appointed to try them.] This sanguinary monster had already given a specimen of his character in many trials where he had presided, and he set out on the western circuit with savage joy, as to a full harvest of blood and

* Hume, vol. vii. p. 231.

was judgement without mercy; he looked on them, and they were condemned; he opened his lips, and it was death unto them.

Yea, so great was his cruelty, that when their eyes rolled in the agonies of death, then he mocked; and when their legs quivered in

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destruction. He began at Dorchester; and thirty delinquents being arraigned, he exhorted them, but in vain, to save him, by their free confession, the trouble of trying them. And when twenty-nine of them were found guilty, he ordered them, as an additional punishment of their disobedience, to be led to immediate execution. Most of the other prisoners, terrified with this example, pleaded guilty; and no less than two hundred and ninety-two received sentence at Dorchester. Of these eighty were executed. Exeter was the next stage of blood; two hundred and thirty-three were there tried; of whom a great number were condemned and executed. He also opened his commission at Taunton and Wells; and every where carried consternation along with him. On the whole, besides those butchered by Kirk, two hundred and fifty-one are computed to have fallen by the hand of this merciless tiger The whole country was strewed with the heads and limbs of the insurgents. Every village almost beheld the dead carcass of a wretched inhabitant. England had never known such a carnage. Dr. Burnet says that no fewer than six hundred persons were hanged in consequence of Monmouth's rebellion.

James applauded these proceedings. And he took pleasure to relate them in his drawing room, to foreign ministers, and at his table, calling it *Jeffries's campaign*. Upon his return, Jeffries was created a baron and peer of the realm; an honour at that time thought inconsistent with the character of a judge.

A more particular account of the biography of Jeffries, may not be unamusing to the reader. He was born at Acton, in Denbighshire. He was educated at Westminster school; thence removed to the Inner Temple. By the influence of his brother, Alderman Jeffries, he was made Recorder of London. He afterwards became a favourite at court; made solicitor to the Duke of York; knighted in 1680; and appointed chief justice at Chester. Shortly after he was made lord chief justice of the King's Bench, and finally lord chancellor.

North, in his lives, relates some curious anecdotes of his character. His friendship and conversation, he says, lay much among the good fellows and humourists, and his delights were, accordingly, drinking, laughing, singing, kissing, and all the extravagances of the bottle. He had a set of banterers for the most part near him, as, in old time, great men kept fools to make them merry. And these fellows, abusing one another, were a regale to him; and no friendship could be so great in private, which he did not abuse in public. He had extraordinary natural abilities, but few acquired beyond what practice had supplied. When he was sober, in temper, and matters indifferent came before him, he became his seat of justice uncommonly well. He took a pleasure in mortifying fraudulent attornies, and used to deal forth his invectives with a sort of terrible majesty. He talked fluently and with spirit, and used to scold in such language as never was heard except in Billingsgate. He called it "*Giving a lick with the rough side of his tongue.*" It was ordinary to hear him say, "Go, you are a filthy, lousy, knitty rascal;" with much more of like eloquence. Scarcely a day passed that he did not chide some one or other of the bar, when he sat in the Chancery; and it was commonly a lecture of a quarter of an hour long. And they used to say, "This is yours; my turn will be to-morrow." He loved to insult, and the terrors of his face and voice made men tremble at his vocal inflictions. To give an instance of his manner:—A city attorney was petitioned against for some abuse, and an affidavit was made that when he was told of my Lord Chancellor, "My Lord Chancellor,"

the air, then he sent for music, and called it dancing. Wherefore let his name perish from the face of the earth, and let all his generation be hanged by the neck.

But woe unto thee, O Kirk! woe unto thee, thou barbarous insulter of wronged innocence! let thy sin be detested in all ages, and let thy name be accursed from generation to generation! for behold thou hast done iniquity in the sight of the Lord, the cry of thine abomination is gone up unto heaven; and it shall come to pass, that whosoever heareth thy tale shall curse thee.

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said he, "I made him;" meaning his means to bring him early into city business. When this affidavit was read, "Well," said the Lord Chancellor, "then I will lay my maker by the heels" And with that conceit one of his best old friends went to gaol.

One of these sallies, however, proved fatal to him in the end. There was a scrivener, of Wapping, brought to hearing, for relief against a bummery bond: the contingency of losing all being shewed, the bill was going to be dismissed. But one of the plaintiff's counsel said, that he was a strange fellow, and sometimes went to church, sometimes to conventicles, and none could tell what to make of him, and it was thought that he was a "Trimmer." At that the Chancellor fired, and "a Trimmer," said he, "I have heard much of that monster, but never saw one. Come forth, Mr Trimmer, turn you round, and let us see your shape." And at that rate talked so long, that the poor fellow was ready to drop under him; but at last the bill was dismissed with costs, and he went his way. In the hall one of his friends asked him how he came off? "Come off!" said he, "I am escaped from the terrors of that man's face, which I would scarcely undergo again to save my life; and I shall certainly have the frightful impression of it as long as I live." Afterwards, when the Prince of Orange landed, and all was in confusion, the Lord Chancellor, being justly apprehensive for his safety, disguised himself in order to go abroad. He was in a seaman's garb, drinking a pot in a cellar. This scrivener came into the cellar after some of his clients, and his eye caught that face which made him start; and Jeffries, seeing himself eyed, feigned a cough, and turned to the wall with his pot in his hand. But "Mr. Trimmer" went out and gave notice the Chancellor was there; whereupon the mob flowed in, and he was in extreme hazard of his life, but for the intervention of the Lord Mayor. He was afterwards confined in the Tower, where he soon died.

But woe unto thee, O Kirk!] This ruffian had been a soldier of fortune, at Tangiers; and from the example of that government, appeared to have imbibed his notions of justice. At his first entry into Bridgewater, he hanged nineteen persons, without the least inquiry into the merits of their cause. As if to make a sport of the sufferings of his victims, he ordered a certain number to be executed, while he and his company should drink the King's health, or that of Chief Justice Jeffries. By way of experiment, he ordered one man to be hung up three times, questioning him at each interval, whether he repented of his crime: but the man persisting he would engage in the same cause, Kirke ordered him to be hung in chains. This monster suffered his regiment to live at free quarters, and instructed by his example, and encouraged by his exhortations, they committed all manner of excesses. By way of pleasantry he called the military *his lambs;* an appellation which was long remembered with horror in the West of England. It is worthy of remark, that Kirke afterwards served in the army of the Prince of Orange.

Now the thing which he did was this:—

It came to pass in the town of Taunton, that he had condemned an ancient man unto death, and he was to be executed on the sign-post of the house where Kirk was sitting.

Then came the daughter of the poor old man, a lovely maiden, her cheeks were washed with tears as a rose in the morning-dew, and the look of her eye was innocence distressed.

And she threw herself at his feet, and embraced his knees for some time in silent grief, and in the utmost agony of heart.

At length, when words could find a passage, she lift up her eyes, still dropping with tears, and besought him saying,

O save my father! let not his grey hairs be dishonoured with a violent death! alas he is an old man, and hath not many days to live; suffer him to go down to the grave in peace, that my soul may bless thee.

Then Kirk commanded the virgin to arise, and he look on her, and his heart was smitten with her beauties, insomuch that he burned to enjoy her. And he spake unto the maiden, saying, Behold now the life of thy father is in mine hand, and I can do unto him whatsoever seemeth good in mine eyes: howbeit, thy beauty hath softened mine heart; if therefore thou wilt hearken unto my voice that I may enjoy thee, I swear unto thee his life shall be safe, not a hair of his head shall be in danger.

Then fell the maiden down at his feet, and bedewed the ground with her tears, and her anguish was very great; and she said unto him, O take my life, my life I will give for my father's willingly; but let not my lord desire this thing, do not this evil unto thine handmaid: alas! I am a poor virgin, mine innocence is mine only portion. I am besides my father's only child, and his heart is fond of me, he hath no other; and if I do this thing, what benefit shall I have of his life? for behold he will die with sorrow.

Now the thing which he did was this.] A narrative of this unparalleled act of treachery and barbarity, nearly as related above, may be found in Hume, vol. viii. p. 232

And her tears flowed so fast, that she could speak no more; and she continued with her face towards the ground weeping.

But the heart of Kirk was hardened, and his soul was set in him to do evil; and he spake unto the virgin, saying, If thou do not instantly comply, thy father dieth, nay I will hang him up before thy face, and thine eyes shall behold his agonies: and he seemed to be going.

Then the damsel caught hold of the skirt of his garment, and she wept bitterly; and so moving was her grief, that it would have melted any human heart. And she cried out, Kill not my father! O let me speak! I cannot see him die, indeed I cannot. Here grief once more stopt up her voice, and for some time she could not speak or weep; at length, lifting up her eyes, Forgive me heaven, she cried; father, forgive me, I will save thy life, but I will not survive mine honour.

So she yielded unto him, and was undone. For no sooner had he satiated himself with her ruined innocence, than he brought her to the window, and with an insulting smile showed her her father hanging on the sign-post.

Transfixt with grief and horror, she suddenly cried out——My father! O my father! what have I done!——Then she sunk upon the ground speechless and without motion: but life, unhappily for her, returned; she awaked from her trance all wild and distracted, nor did her senses ever return to her any more.

Many other cruelties did they commit, and many other barbarities; insomuch that the land stunk of blood, and the face of the earth looked dreadful with the quarters of men, which they hanged up in

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Many other cruelties did they commit.] Of all the executions during this dismal period, the most atrocious were those of Mrs. Gaunt and Lady Lisle, who had been accused of harbouring traitors. Mrs. Gaunt was an anabaptist, noted for her beneficence, which she extended to persons of all professions and persuasions. One of the rebels knowing her humane disposition, had recourse to her in his distress, and was concealed by her. Hearing of the proclamation, which offered indemnity and reward to such as discovered criminals, this monster of ingratitude betrayed his benefactress, and bore evidence against her. He received a pardon as a recompence for his treachery; she was burned alive for her charity!

every place, as a terror to all that should oppose the measures of this violent and bigoted prince.

But it came to pass that James was so eager in his advances to

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Lady Lisle was widow of one of the regicides, who had enjoyed great favour and authority under Cromwell, and who having fled after the restoration, to Lausanne, in Switzerland, was there assassinated by three Irish ruffians, who hoped to make their fortunes with the Royalists, by this piece of service. His widow was now prosecuted for harbouring two rebels the day after the battle of Sedgemoor. The night after the action, Hicks, a dissenting preaching, and Nelthorpe, came to her house. She knew Hicks, and treated him civilly, not asking from whence they came, till Hicks told her that they had been with the Duke of Monmouth. Upon which she went out of the room immediately, and ordered her chief servant to send an information respecting them to the next justice of peace, and in the meanwhile to suffer them to escape. Unluckily before this could be done, a party came about the house, and took both the rebels, and Lady Lisle for harbouring them. Jeffries resolved to make a sacrifice of Mrs. Lisle, and obtained from James a promise that he would not pardon her. In vain did the aged prisoner plead, that the accused had been put into no proclamation; had been convicted by no verdict; nor could any man be denominated a traitor, till the sentence of some legal court was passed upon him; that it appeared not by any proof that she was so much as acquainted with the guilt of the persons, or had heard of their joining the rebellion of Monmouth; that though she might be obnoxious on account of her family, it was well known that her heart was ever loyal, and that no person had shed more tears for that tragical event, in which her husband had unfortunately too great a share; and that the same principles which she herself had ever embraced, she had carefully instilled into her son, and had at that very time sent him to fight against those very rebels she was accused of harbouring. Though these arguments did not move Jeffries, they had influence upon the jury. The jury brought her in not guilty. But the judge, in great fury, sent them out again. Yet they brought her in, a second time, not guilty. Then, in a transport of fury, he threatened them with an attaint of jury. At length, overcome by his menaces and reproaches, the third time, they brought the prisoner in guilty. Notwithstanding many applications for the pardon of the aged lady, being seventy years old, James would grant no greater favour than changing the punishment from burning to beheading.

But it came to pass that James was so eager in his advances to popery and arbitrary power.] Hume says, never king mounted the throne of England with greater advantages than James; nay possessed greater facility, if that were any advantage, of rendering himself and his posterity absolute. But all these fortunate circumstances tended only, by his own misconduct, to bring more sudden ruin upon him. The nation seemed disposed of themselves to resign their liberties, had he not at the same time made an attack upon their religion. His indecent haste to re-establish popery finally drove him into banishment. He sent Caryl, as his agent to Rome, in order to make submission to the Pope, and to pave the way for the re-admission of England into the bosom of the Catholic church. Father Peter, a bold and intriguing Jesuit, was made a privy councillor, and directed all the King's measures. He nominated Farmer, a newly converted papist, to be president of Magdalen College, Oxford, the richest foundation in Europe. In Ireland, all the protestants were deprived of their commissions in the army; catholics substituted in their stead. He re-established the Court of High Commission. This odious tribunal, with the Court of Star-Chamber, had been abolished in the reign of Charles I. and the act of parliament prohibited its

popery and arbitrary power, that the great men and the nobles, and all the people were alarmed at his proceedings: wherefore they sent over messengers privily unto William, the prince of Orange, who had married the king's daughter, desiring his assistance, to preserve the religion and liberties of the people.

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erection at any future time. But this law James deemed no obstacle; and an ecclesiastical commission was issued, by which seven commissioners were vested with unlimited power over all matters that concerned religion. They might proceed on bare suspicion; and the better to set the law at defiance, it was expressly inserted in their patent, that they were to exercise their jurisdiction, notwithstanding any law or statute to the contrary.

The king likewise went openly, with all the ensigns of his dignity, to mass, an illegal meeting. The more judicious of the catholics themselves became alarmed at his inconsiderate zeal. The pope, Innocent XI. advised him not to be too precipitate, nor rashly attempt what repeated experience might convince him was impracticable. The Spanish ambassador, Ronquillo, deeming the tranquillity of England necessary for the support of Spain, made similar remonstrances He observed to the king how busy the priests appeared at court, and advised him not to assent with too great facility to their councils. "Is it not the custom in Spain," said James, "for the king to consult with his confessor?" "Yes," replied the ambassador, "and it is for that very reason our affairs succeed so ill."

The first resistance to these arbitrary proceedings of the king came from the clergy. This class would readily have acquiesced in the destruction of civil liberty, but the king's open attack upon their own establishment filled them with alarm. He assumed the power of issuing a declaration of a general indulgence, and thus suspending at once all the penal laws by which a conformity was required to the established religion. By this monstrous assumption the nation was brought back to the time of Henry VIII. when the proclamation of the sovereign was deemed equal to an act of parliament. Finding that the first declaration of indulgence was submitted to, he issued a second, and subjoined an order that immediately after divine service it should be read by the clergy in all the churches. This they were determined to oppose; and hence arôse the famous trial of the SIX BISHOPS.

Six prelates with the primate met privately at Lambeth, and concerted the form of a petition to the king. Their petition was couched in the most cautious and respectful terms; representing that, though possessed of the highest sense of loyalty, a virtue of which the church of England had given such eminent testimonies; and though desirous of affording ease in a legal way to all catholics and dissenters; yet, because the declaration of indulgence was founded on a prerogative formerly declared illegal by parliament, they could not in honour or conscience, so far make themselves parties as the distribution of it all over the kingdom would amount to. They therefore besought the king that he would not insist on their reading that declaration.

The king was inexorable. He immediately embraced a resolution of punishing the bishops. As the petition was delivered him in private, he summoned them before the council; and questioned them whether they would acknowledge it. The bishops saw his intention, and seemed long desirous of declining an answer; but being pushed by the chancellor, they at last avowed the petition. On their refusal to give bail, an order was immediately drawn for their committal to the Tower, and the crown lawyers were directed to prosecute them for a pretended *seditious libel*.

Nothing could exceed the popularity of the prelates, and the whole country waited

Then William raised an army and came over to England; and great fear came upon James because of his misdoings. Wherefore James fled from the presence of William, and became a fugitive all the days of his life.

the issue of the trial with the greatest anxiety. It took place on the 16th of June. Several of the judges declared themselves in favour of the prisoners. The jury, however, from what cause is unknown, took several hours to deliberate, and kept the people in the most anxious expectation. But when the wished-for verdict of *not guilty* was at last pronounced, the intelligence was echoed through the hall, conveyed to the crowds without, carried into the city, and propagated with infinite joy throughout the kingdom.

Ever since Monmouth's rebellion, the king had every summer encamped the army on Hounslow heath, that he might both improve their discipline and overawe the people. A popish chapel was openly erected in the camp, and great pains taken, though in vain, to bring over the soldiers to that communion. It happened that the very day on which the trial of the bishops was finished, James had reviewed the troops, and had returned into the tent of Lord Feversham, the general, when he was surprised to hear a great uproar in the camp, attended with the most extravagant symptoms of tumultary joy. He suddenly inquired the cause, and was told by Feversham, "It was nothing but the rejoicing of the soldiers for the acquittal of the bishops." "Do you call that nothing?" replied he; "but so much the worse for them." He soon after abdicated the throne.

Then William raised an army and came over to England.] So well concerted were the prince's measures, that, in three days about four hundred transports were hired; the army quickly fell down the rivers and canals to Nimeguen; the artillery, arms, stores, and horses were embarked; and the prince set sail from Helvoetsluys, with a fleet of near five hundred vessels, and an army of above fourteen thousand men. He first encountered a storm which drove him back. But his loss being soon repaired, the fleet put to sea under Admiral Herbert, and made sail with a fair wind towards the west of England. The same wind detained the king's fleet in their station near Harwich, and enabled the Dutch to pass the straits of Dover without opposition. Both shores were covered with multitudes of people, who, besides admiring the grandeur of the spectacle, were held in anxious suspense by the prospect of an enterprise the most important which, during some ages, had been undertaken in Europe. The prince had a prosperous voyage, and landed his army safely in Torbay, on the 5th of November, the anniversary of the gunpowder treason.

The Dutch army marched first to Exeter; and the prince's declaration was there published. The terrible executions exercised on the followers of Monmouth, prevented any one for several days joining him. The first person who came to his standard was Major Burrington; and he was quickly followed by the gentry of the counties of Devon and Somerset. Sir Edward Seymour made proposals for an association, which every one signed. By degrees the Earl of Abingdon, Mr. Russell, the son of the Earl of Bedford, Mr. Wharton, Godfrey, and Howe came to Exeter. All England was in commotion. Lord Delamere took arms in Cheshire; the Earl of Danby seized York; the Earl of Bath, governor of Plymouth, declared for the prince; the Earl of Devonshire made a like declaration in Derby. The nobility and gentry of Nottinghamshire embraced the same cause; and every day there appeared some effect of that universal combination into which the nation had entered against the measures of the king.

Moreover his throne was declared vacant, and William his son-in-law reigned in his stead. This is the grand revolution, this is the epocha of English freedom.

Every one turned their back on James. Even the princess Ann, pretending fear of the king's displeasure, withdrew herself, in company with the bishop of London and Lady Churchill. She fled to Nottingham, where the Earl of Dorset received her with the greatest respect, and the gentry of the county formed a troop for her protection. When James heard of the flight of his favourite daughter, he was overwhelmed with grief and consternation; "God help me!" he cried, in the extremity of his agony; "my own children have forsaken me!" Finding himself deserted by almost every individual, and no hopes of regaining the sovereignty, he retired to France, where he was honourably received by Lewis as a *blessed martyr* to the cause of despotism and superstition.

Moreover his throne was declared vacant.] The first step of the prince of Orange was, to summon a sort of national convention. All the members who had sat in the house of commons during any parliament of Charles II. were invited to meet; and to them were added the mayor, aldermen, and fifty of the common council. This was regarded as the most proper representation of the people that could be summoned during the present emergence. They unanimously voted the same address with the lords; and the prince being thus supported by all the legal authority that could be obtained, wrote circular letters to the counties and corporations of England; and his orders were universally complied with. A profound tranquillity prevailed throughout the kingdom; and the prince's administration was submitted to, as if he had succeeded in the most regular manner to the vacant throne. The fleet received his orders; the army, without murmur or opposition, allowed him to remodel them, and the city supplied him with a loan of two hundred thousand pounds. Such was the ease and safety with which a great revolution was effected when the people were unanimous in their resistance to a weak and tyrannical government.

Application.

James survived his dethronement ten years. With the exception of two attempts to recover the crown, which he had so disgracefully lost, his time was spent in complete inactivity Hunting, his favourite amusement, and an occasional visit to the monastery of La Trappe, where the poor monks were vastly edified with his humble and pious deportment, formed his only occupation. His zeal for his religion continued unabated, and in his last moments he recommended to his successor, the Pretender, if ever he should come to the throne, the same infatuated adherence to the catholic faith which had been so fatal to himself. The queen was by no means so indifferent to the loss of three kingdoms; and most probably it was at her instigation that James was induced to countenance projects of assassination for the destruction of William.

Of the public character, at least, of this prince, there can be no difference of opinion. He was a bigot in his religion, and a despot in his principles of government. With these qualities, which formed the predominant features of his mind, it was hardly possible any virtues could take root, still less be beneficial. Some historians, however, have ascribed to him the virtues of sincerity, bravery, and frankness. His sincerity was poorly evinced when, in spite of reiterated promises to preserve the religion and liberties of the people, his whole reign exhibited the most scandalous violations of both. His bravery, though less questionable than his sincerity, was as

poorly illustrated at the battle of the Boyne, where, instead of being the last, he was the first to set an example of flight. As to frankness in matters of religion, that must be allowed to have formed a part of his character: but it seems wonderful that a man who was generous enough to avow his own sentiments at whatever risk, should wish, by every means, fair or foul, to deprive others of the same privilege. To be sure he always protested that his only object was to procure a full toleration and equality of privilege for his catholic subjects; but his zeal was far too intemperate to render it probable that he would ever have confined himself to such moderate bounds. Had the catholics been admitted to the enjoyment of their civil rights, it is obvious enough, that, from the partialities of such a prince, they would have been preferred to all places of trust and emolument; and thus possessing the power, doubtless it would have been exercised, as power always has been exercised by that sect, in the exclusion from office or the open persecution of their opponents.

Having arrived at the important era of the Revolution, it may be proper to subjoin a short account of the progress of commerce, arts, and manners, at this period.

The commerce and riches of England never, in any period, increased so fast as from the restoration to the revolution. The wars with the Dutch, by disturbing the trade of that republic, promoted the navigation of this island; and after Charles had made a separate peace with the States, his subjects enjoyed unmolested the trade of Europe. The conquest of New York and the Jerseys greatly extended the English empire in America; and the prosecution of the Dissenters, though unjust in itself, tended greatly, by inducing them to seek liberty of conscience on the other side the Atlantic, to augment the population and riches of the colonies. Dr. Davenant affirms, that the shipping of England more than doubled during these twenty-eight years. Several new manufactures were established, in iron, brass, silk, hats, glass, paper, &c. One Brewer, leaving the Low Countries, brought over the art of dying woollen cloth into England, and by that improvement saved the nation great sums of money.

Sir Josiah Child states, that, in 1688, there were on the 'Change more men worth 10,000 pounds, than there were in 1650, worth a thousand; that 500 pounds with a daughter was, in the latter period, deemed a larger portion than £2000 in the former: that gentlewomen in those earlier times, thought themselves well clothed in a serge gown, which a chamber-maid would, in 1688, be ashamed to be seen in; and that, besides the great increase of rich clothes, plate, jewels, and household furniture, coaches were in that time augmented an hundred fold.

The Duke of Buckingham introduced from Venice the manufacture of glass and chrystal into England. Prince Rupert was also an encourager of useful arts and manufactures. He himself was the inventor of etching.

The first law for erecting turnpikes was passed in 1662; the places of the turnpikes were Wadesmill, Caxton, and Stilton: but the great improvement of highways took not place till the reign of George II.

The people, during these two reigns, were in great measure cured of the wild fanaticism by which they had formerly been so much agitated. By the example of Charles II. and the cavaliers, licentiousness and debauchery became prevalent in the nation. The pleasures of the table were much pursued. Love was treated more as an appetite than a passion. The one sex began to abate of the national character of chastity, without being able to inspire the other with sentiment or delicacy.

The extravagant pretensions to piety of the former age had much propagated the spirit of irreligion; and most men of learning and genius lay under the imputation of deism. Among the number may be reckoned Shaftesbury, Halifax, Buckingham, Mulgrave, Essex, Rochester, Sir William Temple, and Algernon Sydney.

Till the Revolution, the liberty of the press was very imperfectly enjoyed in England, and during a very short period. The Star-chamber, while that court existed, put effectual restraints on printing. On the suppression of that tribunal, in 1641, the long parliament, after their rupture with the King, assumed the same power with regard to the licensing of books; and this power was continued during all the period of

the Commonwealth. Two years after the restoration, an act was passed reviving the republican ordinances. This act expired in 1679, but was revived in the first of King James. The liberty of the press did not even commence with the revolution. The restraints on publication were not taken off till 1694; a measure very obnoxious, both to William and his ministers, and thought to be pregnant with the utmost danger, both to church and state.

Amidst the conflicts of bigotry and ignorance, it is delightful to contemplate the progress of science and real knowledge. Otto Guericke invented the air-pump, a pneumatic engine of vast utility in the investigation of various phenomena of atmospheric pressure and natural philosophy. Newton, a sublime genius, by the discovery of the fluxional calculus,—the investigation of the great law of gravitation, and its application to the motions of the heavenly bodies,—the decomposition of the rays of light, whence he deduced the whole theory of colours,—did more to extend the bounds of natural philosophy, than all the philosophers, ancient or modern, who had preceded him. About this time also was established the *Royal Society*. A few individuals, friendly to the liberal arts, had for some time been in the habit of meeting for a few hours conversation on their favourite pursuits. Wilkins, a clergyman, afterwards Bishop of Chester, who had married Cromwell's sister, procured a patent for their incorporation, under the name of the *Royal Society*. This was the only encouragement they received from government. Charles, though a lover of the sciences, especially chemistry, was so exhausted by the insatiable cravings of his courtiers and mistresses, that he never had any thing to spare for the encouragement of learning and genius. Even Butler, the celebrated author of Hudibras, with whose verses Charles was so well pleased, that he knew nearly the whole by art; yet he was suffered to linger out his days in indigence and poverty. Dryden fared little better; and while he might have been easily maintained in independence, he was left to waste his time on unworthy subjects, and depend for a precarious livelihood on the bookseller. As to Otway, the author of Venice Preserved, he died literally of hunger. Such is the patronage which monarchy extends to learning, even when the monarch himself is reputed a wit and votary of science.

XXXI.—WILLIAM III.

And William was called the deliverer, inasmuch as by him the land was delivered from popery and arbitrary power, and the liber-

And William was called the deliverer—and the liberties of the people, both civil and religious, were settled.] The Revolution terminated the old line of succession, which, from the Conquest, had lasted 600, from the union of the Heptarchy, 900 years. The grounds on which parliament effected this important change, were the endeavours of James to subvert the constitution by breaking the original contract; his violation of the fundamental laws, and his withdrawing himself out of the kingdom. On these facts, parliament assumed the power of declaring the throne *vacant*, and be-

ties of the people, both civil and religious, were settled and established upon a new foundation: the prerogatives of the crown were limited, and the rights of the subject were ascertained.

For the lords and the commons of England, on the day that they offered him the crown, explained also the conditions on which he must accept it, saying, that we, the lords spiritual and temporal and commons, being the princes and rulers of the land, assembled in council, in the city of Westminster, hereby declare, that,

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stowing it upon the Prince of Orange. Thus was the old maxim of the hereditary, divine, and indefeasible right renounced, and the people admitted to be the only source of regal authority. But with the exception of this principle, though the Revolution afforded such a favourable opportunity for securing popular rights, nothing further was accomplished. The prerogatives of the crown, to which the late and former calamities of the kingdom were imputed, received no abridgement. The King retained the old regal power over parliament in its full extent. He was left at liberty to convoke, adjourn, prorogue, and dissolve them at his pleasure. He was enabled to influence elections and oppress corporations. He possessed the right of choosing his own council; of nominating all the great officers of the state, and of the household, of the army, the navy, and the church. He reserved the absolute command of the militia; so that he remained master of all the old instruments of corruption and violence, without any other restraint than his own moderation, and that prudent caution arising out of that principle of resistance on which the Revolution was founded.

Nothing can demonstrate more clearly the selfish principles on which the Revolution was effected, than the omission of all reform in the representation. This was the only change that could be beneficial to the people. But the aristocracy and the clergy, the two classes who stipulated with William, had a different interest. Their chief apprehensions arose from the probable introduction of popery. By a change in the national religion, the protestant clergy would have lost their employment; and many of the nobility, who, at the dissolution of the abbeys, had got possession of their revenues, most probably would have been compelled to restore their ill-gotten wealth to the rightful owners. These changes were averted by the Revolution. The power of the aristocracy, erected on the ruins of the royal prerogative and popular rights, became omnipotent. Since then, the government has virtually been an *oligarchy;* the influence of both king and people has been merely nominal; the real power has been vested in the Boroughmongers: and the history of the country for the last century has exhibited only the degrading spectacle of two rapacious factions, without principle and without patriotism, struggling for power and emolument, and endeavouring to perpetuate their own authority on the delusion, the plunder, and ruin of the industrious classes of the community.

For the lords and commons of England—explained also the conditions.] This is the celebrated *Bill of Rights*, or declaration delivered by the lords and commons to the Prince and Princess of Orange, February 13th, 1688, and afterwards enacted in parliament when they became king and queen. It contains the fundamental principles of the constitution, but they never enforced it: it was a mere declaration of the rights and liberties of the people, every one of which has been violated.

Thou shalt not suspend or dispense with laws, or the execution of laws, by royal authority, without consent of parliament; it is illegal.

Thou shalt not levy money for the use of the crown, by pretence of prerogative; it is illegal,

Thou shalt not infringe the right of the subjects to petition the king, neither shalt thou prosecute or commit any one for such petitioning; it is illegal.

Thou shalt not deprive thy subjects of the use of arms, suitable to their conditions, and as allowed by law.

Thou shalt not keep a standing army within the kingdom in time of peace, unless it be with consent of parliament; it is illegal.

The election of members of parliament shall be free, and no freedom of speech and debate in parliament shall be impeached or questioned in any place or court out of parliament.

Excessive bail shall not be required, nor excessive fines imposed, nor cruel and unusual punishments inflicted.

Thou shalt not suspend or dispense with laws.] This was a capital grievance in the former reigns. The kings of the Tudor and Stuart race insisting on the right of dispensing with the laws by their own authority. But though this arbitrary power was abolished at the revolution, latterly it appears to have revived under a new form. The facility with which ministers can obtain a suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act, either in war or peace, is equally oppressive with the dispensing power claimed by Henry VIII. or King James.

Thou shalt not levy money for the use of the crown by pretence of prerogative.] Duties have been levied at Gibraltar during the whole of the last reign by pretence of prerogative; it is illegal.

Thou shalt not infringe the right of the subjects to petition the King.] The late laws for the prevention of public meetings, and even assemblages in a private room, have not only annihilated the right of petition, but even the liberty of discussion on public grievances.

Thou shalt not deprive thy subjects of the use of arms for defence.] Under the Castlereagh system, so far from the people being allowed the use of arms for their defence, their houses are made liable to be searched, either in the day or night time, on the bare suspicion of having arms in their possession.

The election of members of parliament shall be free.] So far from the election of members being free, it is notorious, that a majority of the members are returned either under the dictation of the aristocracy, or the secretary of the treasury.

Jurors shall be duly impannelled and returned:

And finally, for redress of all grievances, and for the amending, strengthening and preserving of the laws, parliaments shall frequently be held.

And we the people of England do claim, demand, and insist upon all these things as our undoubted rights and liberties; and no doings, proceedings, or judgments, hereafter shall be admitted in prejudice thereof.

And after these things it came to pass, that certain men of the tribe of Macdonald, in the valley of Glencoe, refused to pay tribute to the king, and the king was exceeding wroth.

Then he commanded Campbell, a valiant man, to march into the valley of Glencoe, and put the inhabitants to the sword, and utterly destroy them from the face of the earth.

And when the people of the valley saw the soldiers, they were sorely afraid, and they said unto them, Wherefore come ye hither? are ye friends or enemies?

Then Campbell said unto them, Fear not, we come as friends, and not as enemies. And Campbell swore by the living God, that not one of them should suffer death.

Then were the people exceeding glad: great rejoicings took place in the valley, and the men of Glencoe and the soldiers of the king lived together as one people.

Howbeit, at the end of the fifteenth day, in the middle of the night, the soldiers of the king rose, each man girding on his sword. And they went forth and slew the men of Glencoe in their beds, their houses were burnt to the ground, their lands laid waste, their oxen and their sheep they made captive, leaving their wives and children to perish of hunger in the wilderness.

Jurors shall be duly impannelled and returned.] The conviction of Sir Francis Burdett, at Leicester, and the trials at Lancaster, York, and Chester, afford a sufficient comment on this part of the decalogue.

And this has been called the *Massacre of Glencoe*. Howbeit the thing pleased not the people, because of the wickedness thereof, and great murmuring rose through all the land.

And this has been called the massacre of Glencoe.] With the exception of the Manchester slaughter, a more perfidious and cowardly outrage is not to be found in history. A more particular account of this transaction, as related by Burnet, is as follows:—Among the different clans of Highlanders, the most tardy in his submission was Macdonald of Glencoe. The Earl of Breadalbane, the mortal enemy of this chieftain, represented him to the court as an incorrigible rebel, a ruffian inured to bloodshed and rapine, who would never be obedient to the laws of his country, nor live peaceably under any sovereign. He observed that he paid no regard to the proclamation of the King offering indemnity to those who should surrender on a certain day, and proposed that he, his family, and dependents, should be destroyed by military execution. This advice was adopted, and an order, signed and countersigned by the king's own hand, was transmitted to the Master of Stair, secretary of Scotland, who gave particular and urgent directions to put the inhabitants of Glencoe to the sword, charging the officer to take no prisoners, that the example might be the more terrible. In the month of February, Captain Campbell marched into the valley of Glencoe with a company of soldiers, on pretence of levying the arrears of land-tax and the hearth money. When Macdonald asked whether they came as friends or enemies, he answered as friends, and gave him the most solemn pledge that neither he nor his people should sustain the least injury. In consequence of this declaration, he and his men were received with the greatest hospitality, and for fifteen days they lived with the Glencoe men apparently in the most unreserved friendship. At length the fatal period approached. Macdonald and Campbell having passed the day together, parted about seven in the evening, with mutual professions of the warmest affection. The younger Macdonald perceiving the guards doubled, began to suspect some treachery, and communicated his suspicion to his brother, but neither he nor his father would harbour the least doubt about Campbell's sincerity: nevertheless, the two young men went forth privately to make further observations. They overheard the common soldiers say, they liked not the work; that though they would willingly have fought the Macdonalds of the Glen fairly in the field, they held it base to murder them in cold blood, but that their officers were answerable for the treachery. When the youths hasted back to apprize their father of the impending danger, they saw the house already surrounded: they heard the discharge of musquets, and the shrieks of women and children, and being destitute of arms, secured their own lives by immediate flight. The savage ministers of vengeance had entered the old man's chamber, and shot him through the head. He fell down dead in the arms of his wife, who died next day distracted by the horror of her husband's fate. The Laird Auchingtrmcken, Macdonald's guest, who had three months before this period submitted to the government, and at this very time had a protection in his pocket, was put to death without question. A boy of eight years, who fell at Campbell's feet, imploring mercy, was stabbed to the heart by one Drummond, a subaltern officer. Eight and thirty suffered in this manner, the greatest part of whom were surprised in their beds. The design was to butcher all the males under seventy that lived in the valley; but some of the detachments did not arrive soon enough to secure the passes, so that one hundred and sixty escaped.

Campbell having perpetrated this brutal massacre, ordered all the houses to be burned, made a prey of the cattle and effects that were found in the valley, and left the helpless women and children, whose fathers he had murdered, without covering, food, or shelter, in the midst of the snow that covered the whole face of the country, at

Then the king said unto his officers and unto his soldiers, Wherefore did ye this thing? but they answered not a word; for they feared to tell the truth, and lest, peradventure if they said the king commanded the men of Glencoe to be slain, they should be put to death. And the massacre of Glencoe has never been punished unto this day.

And now there was great corruption through all the land, and many great men and rulers of the people received bribes, and the people complained of new and unusual burdens.

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the distance of six long miles from any inhabited place. Distracted with grief and horror, surrounded with the shades of night, shivering with cold, and appalled with the apprehension of death from the assassins of their friends and kinsmen, they could not endure such a complication of calamities, but generally perished in the waste before they could receive the least comfort or assistance. Such was the massacre of Glencoe, which fixes an indelible blot on the character of King William.

Then the King said—wherefore did ye this thing?] He was alarmed at the outcry raised against this brutal outrage, and he endeavoured, by various artifices, to lessen the odium it attached to his character. The Master of Stair was dismissed from his employment, on the pretence of having exceeded his instructions, and the King pretended that he had subscribed the order amidst a heap of papers without being aware of its import. A more solemn inquiry was instituted by parliament three years afterwards, but it clearly appearing that government was at the bottom of the transaction, the affair was hushed up, and by various evasions and legal subtleties the real delinquents were screened from punishment; and to complete the resemblance betwixt the Glencoe and Peterloo massacres, the perpetrators of the former also met with rewards and preferment. It does not appear, however, the feelings of the country were outraged by a letter of thanks.—See *Smollett's Contin.* B. i. ch. iii. and iv. *Burnet.*

And now there was great corruption.] In 1695 it was discovered that a great deal of corruption prevailed in the House of Commons. A committee being appointed to inspect the chamberlain's books, discovered that Sir John Trevor, speaker of the house, had received a bribe of 1000 guineas to pass the orphan's bill. The East India Company obtained a renewal of their charter by bribing the members. A committee was appointed to examine their books, when a monstrous scene of venality and corruption was disclosed. It appeared that the company, in the preceding year, had paid near ninety thousand pounds in secret services; and that, Sir Thomas Cooke, one of the directors, and a member of the house, had been the chief manager of this infamous commerce. Cooke, on his examination, admitted that, to obtain an advantageous settlement for the company, he had given a thousand guineas to Colonel Fitzpatrick, five hundred to Charles Bates, three hundred and ten to Mr. Molineux, and on various pretences, Sir Basil Firebrace had received £40,000. The sum of £1000 was paid to the King, but this was considered only a customary present, as the Company had formerly given an annual gratuity of £10,000 a year to Charles II. and his brother James. Several of the nobility had also received gratuities from the company, and, on a report of the committee, it was resolved to impeach the Duke of Leeds of high crimes and misdemeanors. When the impeachment was carried to the House of Lords, the Duke was actually in the middle of a speech for his own justification, assuring the noble lords, upon his honour, that he was not guilty of the corruption laid to his charge. Being informed of the votes of the commons, he abruptly concluded his speech, and repairing to the lower house, desired he might be indulged with a hearing. He was accordingly admitted, with the compliment of a chair, and leave to be covered.

And William was a wise prince, and he ruled the kingdom with power and great glory; howbeit he had many oppositions, and it was with great trouble that he managed the haughty spirits of the English.

Moreover he made war upon the French, and he led on his armies himself; and the hand of the Lord was with him, and he discomfited them by land and by sea in many battles.

Now the rest of the acts of king William, his courage at the Boyne, the grand alliance that he made, the projects that he formed, and the battles that he fought, behold they are written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of England.

Having sat a few minutes, he took off his hat, and addressed himself to the commons in very extraordinary terms. Having thanked them for the indulgence of a hearing, he said, that house would not have been sitting but for him. He protested his innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and demanded, in the usual language of audacious guilt, speedy justice. The commons forthwith drew up the articles, which being exhibited at the bar of the upper house, he pleaded not guilty, and the commons promised to make good their charge: but in the mean while, such arts were used as all at once checked the violence of the prosecution. Such a number of considerable persons were involved in the mystery of corruption, that a full exposure was dreaded by both parties. The Duke sent his domestic, Robert, out of the kingdom, and his absence furnished a pretence for postponing the trial. In a word, the job was hushed up for the mutual convenience of whigs and tories.—*Smollett*, v. i. p. 245. *Burnet*, vol iii. p. 199.

Moreover he made war upon the French.] Of the fourteen years of this reign nearly ten were years of war. The military and naval expenses amounted to more than forty four millions, being more than one-half the whole expenditure of government. Though William was a brave and resolute commander, he was far from being successful in his military enterprises. With the exception of the battle of the Boyne, victory scarcely ever attended him. The issue of the great struggle to curb the ambition of the French Monarch is thus commented on by the historian. "Such was the issue of a long and bloody war which had drained England of her wealth and people, almost entirely ruined her commerce, debauched her morals, by encouraging venality and corruption, and entailed upon her the curse of foreign connexions as well as a national debt, which was gradually increased to an intolerable burden."

Now the rest of the acts of king William—his courage at the Boyne.] His conduct and skill in war were much more questionable than his courage. Of the latter quality he had given repeated proofs, but none more conspicuous than at the battle of the Boyne. James had drawn up his army on the banks of that river, his front was also covered with a morass and rising ground. William, while reconnoitring his situation on the opposite bank, was exposed to the fire of some field pieces, which the enemy purposely planted against his person. They killed a man and two horses close to him; and the second bullet rebounding from the earth, grazed his right shoulder, carrying off part of his clothes and skin, and producing a considerable contusion. This accident, which he bore without the least emotion, created some confusion among his attendants, which the enemy perceiving, concluded he was killed and shouted aloud for joy. The report of his death was communicated from place to place till it had reached Dublin; from thence it was conveyed to Paris, where the French court encouraged the people to celebrate the event with bonfires and illuminations. William to undeceive his own men, rode along the line to show himself to the

And William reigned over England thirteen years and one month, and he died; and Anne his sister-in-law reigned in his stead.

army after his narrow escape. At night he called a council of war; and declared his resolution to attack his enemy in the morning. Had James displayed either courage or military skill during the action, the result would have been doubtful; but instead of animating his men by sharing their dangers, and rallying his forces when disordered, he stood aloof during the battle, like an unconcerned spectator, on the hill of Dunmore, surrounded with some squadrons of cavalry. Seeing the victory likely to declare against him, without making any effort to collect the remains of his army, he fled to Dublin, and immediately after left the kingdom.

The slaughter was considerable on both sides. The Irish lost fifteen hundred men, the English about one third of that number. Among the slain of the latter, was the old Duke of Schomberg, who fell in the eighty-second year of his age, after having rivalled the best generals of his time in military reputation. This old warrior being compelled to leave his own country on account of the troubles with which it was agitated, commenced a soldier of fortune, and served successively in nearly all the armies of Europe. He attained to the dignities of Mareschal in France, Grandee in Portugal, Generalissimo in Prussia, and Duke in England. He professed the protestant religion; was courteous and humble in his deportment; cool, penetrating, resolute, and sagacious; nor was his probity inferior to his courage.

This battle likewise proved fatal to the brave Caillemote, who had followed the Duke's fortunes, and commanded one of the protestant regiments. After having received a mortal wound, he was carried back through the river by four soldiers, and though almost in the agonies of death, he with a cheerful countenance encouraged those who were crossing to do their duty, exclaiming "*A la gloire, mes enfans, à la gloire!* To glory, my lads, to glory!" Another remarkable person who lost his life on this occasion was Walker, a clergyman, who had valiantly defended Londonderry against the whole army of King James. William had gratified him with a reward of five thousand pounds, and promise of further favour; but his military genius predominating, he attended his royal patron in this battle, and being shot in the belly died in a few minutes.

And William reigned—and he died.] He was of a delicate constitution, and had laboured under a cough and an asthma from his infancy. Though his constitution was exhausted, his death seems to have been a little accelerated by an accident. Riding to Hampton-court from Kensington his horse fell under him, and he himself was thrown upon the ground with such violence, as produced a fracture in his collar-bone. On the fourth day of March, he was so far recovered from his lameness, that he took several turns in the gallery at Kensington; but sitting down on a couch, where he fell asleep, he was seized with a shivering which terminated in a fever and diarrhœa. Finding his end approaching, a commission was granted for passing the malt-tax bill and the act of abjuration; but being then too weak to write his name, he, in the presence of the lord-keeper and the clerks of Parliament, applied a stamp prepared for the purpose. The earl of Albermarle arriving from Holland, conferred with him in private on the posture of affairs abroad; but he received his information with great coldness, and said "Je tire vers ma fin.—I draw towards my end" In the evening he thanked Dr. Bidloo for his care and tenderness, saying—"I know that you and the other learned physicians have done all that your art can do for my relief; but finding all means ineffectual, I submit." He received spiritual consolation from Archbishop Tennison and Burnet, bishop of Salisbury: at five o'clock on Sunday morning, he desired the sacrament, and went through the ceremony with a great appearance of seriousness, but could not express himself. Between seven and eight

o'clock he began to rattle in his throat, when the commendatory prayer was said for him; and as it ended he expired in the arms of Mr. Sewell, one of the pages of the back-stairs, in the fifty-second year of his age. The lords Lexington and Scarborough, who were in waiting, no sooner perceived the king was dead than they ordered Ronjat to untie from his left arm a black ribbon, to which was affixed a ring containing some hair of late Queen Mary, which he had worn as a token of regard to her memory. The body being opened and embalmed, lay in state for some time at Kensington; and on the 12th of April was deposited in a vault of Henry's chapel, in Westminster-abbey.

Application.

Thus died king William III. He was in his person of the middle stature, a thin body, and as already observed of a weak constitution. He had an aquiline nose, sparkling eyes, a large forehead and a grave a solemn aspect. He was very sparing of speech: his conversation was dry and his manner disgusting, except in battle, when his deportment was free, spirited, and animated. In courage, fortitude, and equanimity, he rivalled the most eminent warriors of antiquity; and his natural sagacity made amends for the defects of his education, which had not been properly superintended. He spoke Dutch, French, German, equally well, and he understood the Latin, Spanish, and Italian. He was religious, temperate, generally just and sincere, a stranger to violent transports of passion, and might have passed for one of the best princes of Europe had not his ambition laid the foundation of a system of policy ultimately ruinous to the country. He aspired to the honour of acting as umpire in all the contests of Europe; and as this was the first, the second object of his attention was the aggrandisement of the country to which he owed his birth and extraction. In furtherance of these views he scrupled not to employ all the engines of corruption, by which the morals of the nation were debauched, and patriotism and principle banished from government. He procured a parliamentary sanction for a standing army, which is now considered an indispensable appendage to the constitution. He introduced the pernicious practice of borrowing upon remote funds; an expedient that necessarily hatched a brood of usurers, brokers, contractors, and stock-jobbers to prey upon the vitals of the country, and whose chief harvest is in the promotion of war, misery, and devastation. He introduced the practice of issuing exchequer bills, of raising money by lotteries, the stamp duties, the excise laws, and all those fatal financial expedients, by which wars of ambition, folly, and despotism have been supported, and the country plunged into her present abyss of misery, despair, and destruction.

Smollett sums up his character in the following words: "William was a fatalist in religion, enterprising in politics, dead to all the warm and generous emotions of the human heart, a cold relation, an indifferent husband, a disagreeable man, an ungracious prince, and an imperious sovereign."

As Smollett considered the deposition of King James, William's father-in-law and uncle, an unpardonable crime, the reader will make some abatement for his strictures on his character. But though William was a disagreeable man, it is not conceivable how he could merit the appellation of an indifferent husband. The ring he wore appended to his arm, after the death of Queen Mary, certainly shows no want of affection; and he forms a rare exception to the usual run of princes, by neither burdening his people with the support of a mistress, nor any illegitimate offspring. His Queen is described by Burnet as a very exemplary character: that is, she possessed all the virtues of a good wife, though some of her qualifications can hardly be said to add much grace, dignity, or utility to the royal character. She was scrupulous in the performance of all religious duties; kept a sharp look-out after the servants; used to rise early in the morning, and set an example of industry, by devoting several hours each day to needlework among her maids of honour.

The chief excellence of William's character was his love of toleration. Being himself educated a Calvinist, he was inclined to grant full liberty of conscience to all his subjects, and remove every penalty on account of religious opinions. An attempt was made to pass a bill by which Dissenters, under certain regulations, were to be admitted to all offices, civil and military. This just and salutary measure was opposed by the lords. The act for the toleration of non-conformity was more successful. By this act the Dissenters were allowed the free exercise of their religion, a privilege they had not before enjoyed. These concessions rendered William very unpopular among the church party, whose pride, insolence, and rapacity, could only tolerate their own establishment.

Having alluded to the nature of the Revolution at the commencement of this reign, it is unnecessary to add any thing further on that subject. The sacred right of *resistance* to tyranny,—the noble principle for which Lord Russell laid down his life in the reign of Charles II.—was fully recognised by the expulsion of a tyrant and the adoption of a new family to the sovereignty. With the exception of this principle, nothing further was gained by the people. The prerogatives of the crown were undoubtedly better defined and greatly abridged; but these odious privileges, exercised by former princes, instead of being restored to the people by a radical reform in the representation, were usurped by an insolent and factious Aristocracy.

The Whigs claim great merit on account of the Revolution; but the fact is, it was brought about by a general coalition of all parties,—Whigs, Tories, and Republicans.

XXXII.—ANNE.

Now Anne was thirty and seven years old when she began to reign; and she reigned over England twelve years and five months.

Now Anne was thirty and seven years old.] She was the daughter of James II. by Anne Hyde, daughter of the Earl of Clarendon, the historian, whose wife originally was a washerwoman, fruit-woman, or something of that sort. While an exile at Breda, James had formed a secret intercourse with Lady Anne, and they were privately married at Worcester-house, September 5th, 1660. When she was with child in 1662, and the matter broke out, Lord Clarendon protested that till then he knew nothing of the connection. After the restoration, the Duke thought to have prevented her claiming her marriage by great promises and great threatenings. But being a woman of spirit, she said she was his wife, and she would have it known that she was so, let him use her afterwards as he pleased. Charles ordered some bishops and judges to peruse the proofs she had to produce, and they reporting the marriage was good, the King not being willing then to break with Clarendon, told his brother he must needs live with the woman he had married. The Duchess of York is described as a woman of parts, had a great knowledge and a lively sense of things. She wrote well, and begun the Duke's life, of which she showed Dr. Burnet a volume. Her manners, however, were somewhat haughty, which raised her many enemies. She bore the Duke four sons and four daughters: Queen Anne was her second daughter, born at St. James's, 1664.

And she pursued the measures which William her predecessor had begun, in order to oblige King Lewis of France to recall his grandson Philip, whom he had seated on the throne of Spain, and to place that crown on the head of Charles, the Emperor Leopold's second son.

Wherefore war was declared by the confederate powers of Eng-

In 1683, the Queen was married to Prince George of Denmark, second son of Frederick III. King of Denmark. The Queen had almost a child every year, but none of them survived. The Prince died in 1708, of a cold and asthma, with which he had been long afflicted. He filled the office of lord high admiral, and in his character and relation to the Queen, bore some resemblance to a living personage. He was a prince of an amiable, rather than a shining character, brave, good-natured, modest, and humane, but devoid of great talents and ambition. He always lived in great harmony with the Queen, who, during the whole term of their union, especially in his last illness, approved herself a pattern of conjugal truth and tenderness.

Wherefore war was declared—and Marlborough the general.] John Churchill, afterwards Duke of Marlborough, was second son of Sir Winston Churchill, of Wootton-Bassett, in Wiltshire, by Elizabeth, daughter of Sir John Drake, of Ashe, in the parish of Masbury, in Devonshire. He was born at Ashe, the 24th of June, 1650. He was brought young to court, and made page of honour to the Duke of York, who discovering his martial disposition, procured for him, at the age of sixteen, an ensign's commission in the guards. He went first to Tangier, and afterwards to France, and was soon distinguished by his military genius. When the Duke of York came to the crown, he was made lieutenant-general, and one of the gentlemen of the bedchamber, and sent ambassador to France, to notify that prince's accession to the throne. On the 14th of May, 1685, he was created a peer of England, by the title of Baron Churchill, of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire He contributed greatly by his conduct to defeat the insurrection of Monmouth, in the West. But finding James wholly intent on introducing popery and despotism, he thought himself freed from all his obligations to that monarch, and joined with the Whig and Tory lords to invite the Prince of Orange to come over to their assistance. Upon his leaving King James, he was declared lieutenant-general by the Prince of Orange, and as soon as he ascended the throne, he was made gentleman of the bed-chamber, and created Earl of Marlborough.

His great power and influence under Queen Anne, arose in part from the intrigues of his wife, Sarah Jennings. This lady was daughter of Richard Jennings, of Sandridge, in Hertfordshire, Esq. and lady of the bed-chamber to the Queen. She is described as a woman of little knowledge, but of clear apprehension and sound judgment; a warm and hearty friend, violent and sudden in her resolutions, and impetuous in her manners. She was not much addicted to flattery, nor any mean compliances, and her power over the Queen appeared rather the result of a high opinion her majesty entertained of her judgment, sincerity, and frankness. The violence of her temper brought her husband into some serious difficulties, which made Swift remark, that the Duke was indebted to her, both for his rise and downfal. Pope's character of Atossa was designed for her; when these lines were shown to her grace, as if intended for the Duchess of Buckingham, she soon stopped the reader, and called aloud, "I cannot be so imposed upon.—I see plainly enough for whom they were designed;" and abused Pope for the attack, though she afterwards courted his friendship. As

land, Holland, and Germany, against France and against Spain; and Marlborough the general was made commander of their armies; and he marched into Flanders and encamped there.

And the arm of the Lord was with him, and he was mighty in battle, and he defeated the French wheresoever he came: in all the battles that he fought, he conquered; and whatsoever town he besieged, it surrendered unto him.

Let Ramillies confess the wonders of his courage, let the siege of Lisle proclaim his conduct; Blenheim shall speak aloud the glory of his arms, and Oudenarde declare his invincible prowess; Tournay also shall remember him for ever, and bloody Malplaquet shall tremble at his name.

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she advanced in years, her temper became more irascible. It is related, that the Duke being sick, and not liking the advice of his physician, she followed him down stairs, swearing bitterly, and made an attempt to pull off his perriwig. Like her husband she was extremely avaricious. Her rapacity having rendered her unpopular, she gave Hooke, the Roman historian, £5000 to write a book in her defence, containing an account of her connexion with the Queen. She died in 1744, quite worn out with age and infirmities.

To return to the Duke of Marlborough. The great defect of the Duke's character was his avarice, and some mercenary practices in which he was detected tarnished his military glories. In 1711, it was discovered that he had received an annual present of five or six thousand pounds from Sir Solomon Medina, a Jew, concerned in the contract for furnishing the army with bread; to have been gratified by the Queen with ten thousand pounds a year, on pretence of procuring intelligence; and to have pocketed a deduction of two and a half per cent. from the pay of foreign troops maintained by England. It was alleged, in his justification, that these sums were only the ordinary perquisites of office, which had been received by his predecessors. The commons, however, voted his conduct unwarrantable and illegal, and the attorney-general was directed to prosecute him.

With the exception of being implicated in these practices, he was undoubtedly the greatest man of his age. He united in his own character, in an eminent degree, all the qualities which form a courtier, a soldier, and a statesman. His person was lofty and well made; his features manly, yet beautiful; his looks gracious and open; his mien great, his parts quick; his memory faithful and exact; his penetration deep; his judgment solid; his courage undaunted. He knew the art of living in a court beyond any man in it. He caressed all people with a soft and obliging deportment, and was always ready to do good offices. He was ambitious, but free from haughtiness and ostentation. As a soldier, he was a man of the strictest honour, cool, vigilant, and indefatigable: on the day of battle, he gave his orders with all the clearness and composedness imaginable; leading on his troops without hurry or perturbation, and rallying those who were disordered without abusive reproofs, which damp rather than animate the soldier's courage. As a statesman, he managed a variety of business, either single, or in concert with the prime minister, with great dexterity, ease, and

And great fear came upon all Frenchmen, and upon Lewis their king; wherefore he sought unto queen Anne for peace, and in an evil hour she hearkened unto him: A shameful peace was concluded at Utrecht, and the conquests of Marlborough were made in vain.

Now it came to pass in these days, that the land was divided

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sufficiency. In council, he was never supercilious or assuming, but could bear contradiction without passion, and by cool argumentation bring others over to his own opinion. To sum up the character of this great man, King William said of him, that he had the *coolest head*, and the *warmest heart* of any man he ever knew.

This upon the whole may be considered rather a favourable view of the Duke's character, and a few more particulars may be necessary to enable the reader to form a just estimate of this extraordinary man.

Lord Chesterfield, after admitting that his manner was absolutely irresistible, either by man or woman, says, that he was eminently illiterate; wrote bad English, and spelled still worse. Dean Swift, to whom he was opposed in politics, and who pursued him with a terrible satire after his death, says he was as covetous as hell, and as ambitious as the prince of it. In one of his Examiners (No. 17.) he makes it appear that in various grants, on account of Woodstock, Blenheim, the Post Office grant, and other sources he had received, £540,000 of the public money. Indeed his avarice was insatiable. A few anecdotes mentioned in the Biographia Britannica will illustrate this trait in his character. When he was boy, the first thing he did was to buy a box to put his money in. The Duchess of Cleveland, the favourite mistress of Charles II. and the most handsome woman in England, struck by his personal appearance, when an ensign in the guards, gave him £5000; with which he had the precaution to purchase a life annuity. It is related that he long time hesitated to have a pair of wet stockings cut off his legs, though the keeping them on endangered his life. On the eve of a great battle, he was heard reproaching his servant for extravagance in lighting four candles, when Prince Eugene had come to confer with him. He is justly charged with protracting the war, solely to fill his pockets out of the plunder of the foreign troops, and other sources of emolument. These anecdotes sufficiently illustrate his rapacious disposition. He has been accused of forming a plan to betray James II. into the hands of William, but Burnet acquits him of this imputation. Having survived the decay of his mental faculties, he died in 1722, aged 73. He left no male issue.

And great fear came upon all Frenchmen—and the conquests of Marlborough were made in vain.] All the wars waged by this country since the revolution, have had nearly similar results; namely, an enormous increase in the public debt and burdens. They have been all wars of faction, ambition, passion, or despotism; never for any object beneficial either to the liberties or happiness of mankind. Of the thirteen years of this reign, twelve were years of war: and it cannot be denied, after all the sanguinary victories of Marlborough, and an immense military and naval expenditure, the contest terminated in an inglorious peace, procured, as is said, by bribery and corruption.

Now it came to pass in these days, that the lands was divided between two famous giants, and the name of one was Whiganza, and the name of the other was Toribundos.] WHIG and TORY—the names of two rapacious factions, by whom the country has been plundered and deluded for a century and a half. Both these parties received their appellations in the reign of Charles II. The court party formed the *Tories*, and were so called from a supposed resemblance they bore to a banditti in Ireland of that name. The *Tories* termed their opponents *Whigs*, from a supposed resemblance

between two famous giants; and the name of the one was Whiganza, and the name of the other was Toribundos. And there was enmity between the partizans of Whiganza, and the partizans of Toribundos, insomuch that they spake of each other with great bitterness and many reproaches.

And the giant Toribundos sent forth an evil spirit in the shape of a priest, and he called his name Sacheverel; and when he was strongly possessed, he would rave of False Brethren, of Evil Communication, of Passive Obedience, of Non-Resistance, and many other absurdities.

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they had to some fanatical conventiclers who infested Scotland.* To derive their origin from thieves and fanatics, is certainly very creditable to both parties, and it accords pretty well with their subsequent conduct. King William, whose life was much embittered by their factious and selfish intrigues, used to say, that if he had a sufficient number of places for both parties, the idle distinction of Whig and Tory would cease. It is very creditable to his sagacity, that he should discover that secret in a few years, which occupied more than a century to discover to the nation. In the subsequent part of this immortal work, it will be often necessary to expose the wiles, corruptions, and factious turbulence of Whigs and Tories.

And the giant Toribundos sent forth an evil spirit—his name Sacheverel.] The history of this man is a curious example of the influence of party. His father, Joshua Sacheverel, was rector of St. Peter's Church, Marlborough, where the famous Dr. Sacheverel received the rudiments of knowledge. His father dying, Henry Hearst, an apothecary, being his god-father, adopted him as his son. Hearst's widow put him afterwards to Magdalen College, Oxford, where he became a demy in 1687, at the age of fifteen. Here he soon distinguished himself by a regular observation of the duties of the house; his compositions, good manners, and genteel behaviour. He was cotemporary and chamber fellow with Addison, and till his trial his intimate acquaintance. Mr. Addison, in his "Account of the greatest English Poets," in a farewell poem to the Muses, inscribes it to Henry Sacheverel. As a clergyman, Sacheverel, was a man of narrow intellect, and over-heated imagination. Had not the violence of faction, by an injudicious prosecution, lifted him into importance, neither he nor his doctrines would scarcely have ever been heard beyond the precincts of his own parish.

The sermons, which threw the nation into a ferment, were preached at Derby assizes, and at St. Saviour's, Southwark, of which he was rector. In these sermons he defended the doctrine of *non-resistance*; inveighed against toleration and the dissenters; treated the revolution as an impious rebellion; declared the church was in danger; he sounded the trumpet of alarm, and exhorted the people to put on the armour of God. These doctrines were acceptable enough to the Tories and Jacobites, but obnoxious to the Whigs, since they impeached the merit of their chef d'œuvre of 1688. Sacheverel's ravings were introduced in the House of Commons, several paragraphs were read, and the sermons voted scandalous and seditious libels. Having

* Hume, vol. viii. p. 126.

Now the party of Toribundos adored him as a God; many pictures of him were taken, and prints of his face were dispersed in every corner; yea, so worthily was he distinguished, that the very piss-pots of the land displayed his countenance at their bottoms and showers of honour were daily poured upon him.

Many hardy champions also enlisted themselves beneath his banners, and fought his battles with a desperate and zealous fury.

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acknowledged himself the author, the Commons determined to impeach him at the bar of the house of Lords, and a committee was appointed to draw up the articles. The trial came on in Westminster. The eyes of the whole kingdom were turned upon the issue of this extraordinary prosecution. It lasted three weeks, during which time all other business was suspended, and the Queen herself attended every day as a private spectator. The "lower orders" were completely duped by this shallow incendiary. A vast multitude attended him every day to and from Westminster-hall, striving to kiss his hand, and praying for his deliverance, as if he had been a martyr and confessor. The Queen's sedan was beset by the populace, exclaiming "God bless your Majesty and the Church. We hope your Majesty is for Dr. Sacheverel." They compelled all persons to lift their hats to the Doctor, as he passed in his coach to the Temple where he lodged; and among others, some members of parliament. Indeed the "*swinish multitude*" was completely deluded; but they had not then read the "CHEAP PUBLICATIONS."

To return to the Doctor. His sermons were ordered to be burnt by the common hangman, in the presence of the Lord Mayor and the two Sheriffs of London and Middlesex; and he was prohibited for preaching for three years.

Now the party of Toribundos adored—the very piss-pots of the land.] It is really laughable to see the ridiculous honours bestowed on such a despicable creature as Sacheverel. Having been presented to a living in North Wales, he made a sort of triumphal tour to that country, in all the pomp and magnificence of a sovereign prince. He was sumptuously entertained by the University of Oxford, and different Tory Lords showed him the most idolatrous respect, as the god of their faction. He was received in several towns by the magistrates of the corporation in their formalities, and often attended by a body of a thousand horse. At Bridgenorth, he was met by Mr. Creswell, at the head of four thousand horse, and the like number of persons on foot, wearing white knots edged with gold, and three leaves of gilt laurel in their hats. The hedges were for two miles dressed with garlands of flowers, and lined with people; and the steeples covered with streamers, flags, and colours. Nothing was heard but the cry of, "The Church and Dr. Sacheverel."

Such were the honours paid by the "people," by the "mob," of 1710, to a fellow without talents and merit of any kind; but whose sole recommendation was being the ultra advocate of religious prosecution and political tyranny. The friends of knowledge have no reason to be discouraged, when they behold the change introduced on the public mind within the last century. Sacheverel, after the expiration of the period of his suspension, was presented to the valuable living of St. Andrew's, Holborn. Of the first sermon he preached, we are told (Biog. Dict.) 40,000 copies were sold. After this we hear no more of him, except his quarrels with his parishioners. He died in 1724.

Howbeit there arose at length from the tribe of Whiganza, a valiant hero whose name was Benjamin; and he buckled on him the shield of reason, and grasping in his hand the sword of truth, he marched into the host of Toribundos, and the whole army fled from before him, or fell by his hand: yea, so totally were they defeated, that they turned not again unto this day.

Now the rest of the acts of Queen Anne, and all her glorious conquests; her piety also to the clergy, and the fifty churches that she built, behold, if thou livest to see them, thou mayest die an old man.

And Anne slept with her fathers, and was buried in the chapel of Henry the Seventh, and George of Hanover reigned in her stead.

Howbeit there arose—a valiant hero, whose name was Benjamin.] Pray who can this Benjamin be? It cannot allude either to Lord Wharton or Lord Somers. Yet these were the most eminent of the Whig party. But indeed the Tory administration, at the close of this reign, was broke up rather by the divisions among its own members, than the intrigues of any of their opponents. There was a continual rivalship betwixt the Treasurer, (the Earl of Oxford), and Bolingbroke, Secretary of State. The most violent altercations frequently occurred, sometimes in the presence of the Queen, betwixt these rival statesmen. With the assistance of Lady Masham, the new favourite, who had succeeded the Duchess of Marlborough, Bolingbroke succeeded in procuring the resignation of his opponent. But the Queen dying about the same time, the Whigs came into power, and he derived little advantage from his victory.

Now the rest of the acts of Queen Anne—her piety also to the clergy.] In 1704, the Queen made a grant of the tenths and first fruits, for the augmentation of poor livings. The tenths are the tenth part of the annual value of each living. The first fruits are the first year's whole profit or value of any spiritual preferment. Both first fruits and tenths were formerly paid to the Pope. The first fruits were paid to his Holiness on the promotion to any new benefice; and the tenths were an annual income-tax to that amount, levied on the revenues of the clergy. After the separation from the Church of Rome, they became a part of the revenue of the crown. They were not brought into the Treasury, like other branches of the public revenue; but the Bishops, being the collectors, they were in great part assigned out to individuals, either for life or a term of years. In Charles the Second's time, they chiefly went to the support of his mistresses and natural children.* When they were formed into a fund, for the benefit of the poor clergy, the tenths were valued at £11,000, and the first fruits at £5000 a-year. This fund, called *Queen Anne's Bounty*, has been subsequently augmented by an annual grant of £100,000 from parliament, and the donations of private individuals.

And Anne slept with her fathers.] She expired on the 1st day of August, in the fiftieth year of her age, and the thirteenth of her reign. Anne Stuart, Queen of Great

* See Burnet's *Own Time*, vol. iv. p. 41; to whose suggestion the clergy were indebted for this boon.

Britain, was in her person of the middle size, well-proportioned. Her hair was of the dark brown colour, her complexion ruddy; her features were regular, her countenance was rather round than oval, and her aspect more comely than majestic. Her voice was clear and melodious, and her presence engaging. Her capacity was naturally good, but not much cultivated by learning; nor did she exhibit any marks of extraordinary genius or personal ambition. She was deficient in that vigour of mind by which a prince ought to preserve his independence, and avoid the snares and fetters of sycophants and favourites. She was warmly attached to the established church, and not entertaining very liberal notions on religious liberty, she countenanced several attempts at the commencement of her reign to discourage and distress the Dissenters. The doctrines and conduct of Sacheverel she viewed with particular favour; during the trial of that incendiary and afterwards, the principles of the revolution were the subjects of constant reproach, and slavery and non-resistance the peculiar doctrines of christianity and the church. In short, Anne was in principle hostile both to civil and religious liberty, and had not her natural disposition been restrained by the imbecility of her mind, and the defects of her understanding, it is probable she might have been as arbitrary in her conduct as Queen Elizabeth, whose character she professed to be ambitious to imitate.

Her favourite amusement was hunting, which she practised in her chaise, but the gout increasing upon her, and becoming extremely unweildy, she was constrained to forego this wholesome exercise. This circumstance and her intemperate mode of living, probably hastened her dissolution. It is related by one writer that she was much addicted to spirituous liquors. Tindal contradicts this assertion, and states that her excess was principally in eating. It is impossible to say which of these writers is correct, perhaps both.

Application.

There are few events to add by way of supplement to this reign. The most important fact not noticed, is the act for uniting Scotland to England, in the year 1707. By the articles of union, Scotland returns sixteen peers and forty-five commoners to the Imperial Parliament, as the representatives of that kingdom. The incorporation of the two kingdoms was violently opposed by nearly all classes in Scotland. They represented it as destructive to the liberties, population and wealth of the country. Events have completely falsified these gloomy predictions, and it is well known, that, instead of England draining Scotland, the reverse has been the case. Indeed it looked a paradox in political economy at the time, how a poor, desolate, fanatical country like Scotland, could be injured by an union with her more rich, free, and enlightened neighbour.

A great addition was made to the peerage in this reign. To give ministers a majority, twelve new peers were created at once. On the first day of their introduction into the upper house, when the question was put about adjourning, the Earl of Wharton asked one of them, "Whether they voted by their foreman." The first degradation of the peerage, by the admission of families, recommended to ministers only by their servility or their wealth, may be dated from the Revolution. William, to ingratiate himself with the powerful families, raised eight earls to dukedoms; created eighteen earls, three viscounts, and nine barons. The accession of the Hanover family rendered new creations necessary, and during the late reign the peerage was doubled.

The reign of Queen Anne has been termed the Augustan era of English Literature. But the writers of this age are more distinguished by the classical beauties of their composition, than strength and originality of genius. If however we embrace a larger period, from the restoration to the accession of the Brunswick family, we shall find men eminent in every branch of literature and science. Dr. Atterbury and Dr. Clarke were distinguished in divinity. Mr. Whiston, an eminent mathematician, but of eccentric opinions, wrote in defence of Arianism. John Locke shone forth as

the father of human reason, and metaphysical philosophy. His Essay on the Human Understanding, by explaining the powers of the mind, and exposing the delusions of enthusiam, has done more to deliver mankind from the terrors and miseries of superstition, than the works of all other writers put together. Berkeley, afterwards Bishop of Cloyne, was also an eminent metaphysician; but his *ideal philosophy*, though ingenious and unanswerable, not being of any practical utility, he cannot be considered to have conferred any important service on mankind by his productions. Great progress was made in mathematics and astronomy by Wallis, Halley, and Flamstead: and the art of medicine owed some valuable improvements to the writings and discoveries of Friend and Mead.

Among the poets of this era are numbered John Phillips, author of a didactic poem called Cyder, a performance of real merit; he lived and died in obscurity.—William Congreve, celebrated for his comedies, which are not so famous for strength of character and power of humour, as for wit, elegance, and regularity.—Vanbrugh, who wrote with more nature and fire, though with far less art and precision.—Steele, who in his comedies successfully engrafted modern characters on the ancient drama.—Farquhar, who drew his pictures from fancy rather than from nature, and whose chief merit consists in the agreeable pertness and vivacity of his dialogue.—Addison, whose fame as a poet greatly exceeded his genius, which was cold and enervate, void of passion, energy, and invention; though in the character of an essayist he yielded to none, either in the beauties of style, or the ingenuity of his matter.—Swift, whose muse seems to have been mere misanthropy; he was a cynic rather than a poet, and his natural dryness and sarcastic severity would have been unpleasing, had he not qualified them by adopting the extravagant and licentious humour of Lucian and Rabelais.—Prior, lively, familiar, and amusing.—Rowe, solemn, florid, and declamatory.—Pope, the prince of lyric poetry, unrivalled in satire, ethics, and polished versification.—The agreeable Parnel.—The wild, the witty, and the whimsical Garth.—Gay, whose fables may vie with those of La Fontaine, in native humour, ease, and simplicity; and whose genius for pastoral was truly original Dr. Bentley stood foremost in the list of critics and commentators. Sir Christopher Wren raised some noble monuments of architecture. The most celebrated political writers were Davenant, Hare, Swift, Steele, Addison, Bolingbroke, and Trenchard. Of this class Steele, Swift, and Bolingbroke were the most distinguished. Many of the political publications were published weekly, and sold for a penny or twopence each. Of this class were the Examiner, in which Bolingbroke and Swift were the principal writers. So that Cobbett, Wooler, and other writers of that class, are rather the restorers than the fathers of "*cheap publications.*"

XXXIII.—GEORGE I.

AND George was fifty and six years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England twelve years and ten months, and his mother's name was Sophia.

And George was fifty and six years old—his mother's name was Sophia.] Gibbon, in his Miscellaneous Works, has a learned paper on the origin of the Guelph family. He traces them up almost to the flood. According to his researches, the House of Hanover originally resided in Italy; and the names of the first progenitors of the

Now it came to pass that the son of King James the second, who had been abroad since his father's abdication, attempted to set himself on the throne of Great Britain.

And there were great commotions in the land, and the spirits of the people were stirred up to rebellion in many places.

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family, of whom any record is preserved, were Azo and Cunegunda. By what strange variety of fortune they were transplanted into Germany, and afterwards rose into the rank of Electors of the Holy Roman Empire, and subsequently ascended the Throne of Great Britain, it were not very interesting to inquire. It may be proper to observe, that George I. like his two predecessors, was a *parliamentary* rather than a *legitimate* monarch. In the reign of King William and Queen Anne, effectual measures were taken to exclude catholics from the throne. Had not the order of succession been changed, and supposing the doubtfulness of the Pretender's birth a sufficient reason to set him aside, the House of Savoy would have been in possession of the British dominions; as they derived their right from the Princess Henrietta, daughter of Charles I; whereas the Hanoverian family were descended from the Princess Elizabeth, daughter of King James I. It was from no predilection in favour of the Dukes of Hanover, but solely from their being of the protestant persuasion, that they succeeded to the throne. On this principle of excluding the catholic branches of the Stuart family, George I. son of the Princess Sophia, grand-daughter of James I. ascended the throne.

As soon as Queen Anne had resigned her last breath, a proclamation was issued under the authority of the privy council, declaring that the high and mighty Prince George, Elector of Brunswick Lunenburgh, was, by the death of the Queen, become our lawful, right, and liege lord, King of Great Britain, &c. This proclamation was signed by above a hundred of the nobility and gentry, most of whom shortly after formed conspiracies to dethrone the King.

And there were great commotions in the land.] It may be necessary to remind the reader of the state of parties at this period. The Jacobites, or partizans of the House of Stuart, were very numerous; and even the late Queen, as well as her minister, the Earl of Oxford, is represented to have been in favour of the exiled family. The partizans of the Pretender, however, did not dare openly to avow their designs; but were generally included among the Tories, who, with the Whigs, formed the ostensible parties into which the nation was divided. Many of the Tories were not from principle opposed to the Hanoverian succession, but only dreaded the accession of that family, from an apprehension that the Whigs would then become predominate, and engross all places of trust and emolument. The principles of this party have been already explained: they entertained lofty notions of the royal prerogative, and the rights of the church; and were composed of the principal nobility and gentry, with the populace of London, Westminster, Birmingham, Bristol, Manchester, and the chief towns and cities of the kingdom. The Whigs leaned for support on the Dissenters, the Bank, and the monied interest: the two last being indebted to this party for existence and prosperity. The reader will here observe the change in parties in the last century. The Tories now depend for support principally on the Bank and the funded interest, while the little influence which remains to the Whigs is chiefly to be found among a few of the great landholders and proprietors of the kingdom. As to the populace, having discovered the selfishness and ambition of both Whigs and Tories, they now form a numerous and influential party, engrossing nearly all the talent, honesty, and energy of the country, under the name of "Reformers."

And the friends of James assembled an army and marched to Preston; and they were encountered there by the king's forces under the command of Wills and Carpenter, and entirely defeated.

Foster also their general, with the lords Derwentwater, Witherington, Nithisdale, Wintoun, Kenmure, and many others, were taken captive and committed to the tower of London; and the heads of some were smitten off on Tower-Hill, but some escaped.

These remarks will render intelligible the history of the riots and rebellions which distracted the country at the commencement of this reign. Notwithstanding proclamations against riots, and orders of the justices for maintaining the peace, repeated tumults were raised by the malcontents in London and Westminster. Those who celebrated the anniversary of the King's birth with the usual marks of joy and festivity, were insulted by the populace; but next day, which was the anniversary of the Restoration, the whole city was lighted up with bonfires and illuminations, and echoed with the sound of mirth and tumultuous rejoicing. The people even obliged the lifeguards who patrolled the streets to join in the cry of "High Church and Ormond!" and in Smithfield they burned the picture of King William. Thirty persons were imprisoned for being concerned in these riots. One Bournois, a schoolmaster, who affirmed that King George had no right to the crown, was tried, and scourged through the city with such severity, that in a few days he expired in the utmost torture. A frivolous incident served to increase the popular ferment. The shirts allowed to the first regiment of guards, commanded by the Duke of Marlborough, were so coarse, that the soldiers could hardly be persuaded to wear them. Some were thrown into the garden of the King's palace, and into that of the Duke of Marlborough. A detachment in marching through the city produced them to the view of the shopkeepers and passengers, exclaiming, "These are the Hanover shirts." The court being informed of this clamour, ordered those new shirts to be burned immediately; but even this sacrifice, and an advertisement published by the Duke of Marlborough in his own vindication did not acquit that general of suspicion that he was concerned in this mean piece of peculation. A reward of fifty pounds was offered by the government to any person who would discover one Captain Wright, who by an intercepted letter appeared to be disaffected to King George; and Mr. George Jefferies was seized at Dublin, with a packet directed to Dr. Jonathan Swift, Dean of St. Patrick's. Several treasonable papers being found in this packet were transmitted to England; Jefferies was obliged to give bail for his appearance, and Swift thought proper to abscond. Similar commotions and suspicions prevailed throughout the kingdom.

And the friends of James assembled an army and marched to Preston—and entirely defeated.] This was rather a siege than a battle. Foster commanded the rebels, composed principally of Highlanders. General Willis marched against the enemy with six regiments of horse and dragoons, and one battalion of foot, commanded by Colonel Preston. They had advanced to the bridge of Ribble, before Foster received intelligence of their approach. He forthwith began to raise barricadoes, and put the place in a posture of defence. On the 12th of November, the town was briskly attacked in two different places; but the king's troops met with a very warm reception, and were repulsed with considerable loss. Next day, General Carpenter arrived with a reinforcement of three regiments of dragoons, and the rebels were invested on all sides. The Highlanders declared that they would make a sally, sword in hand, and either cut their way through the king's troops, or perish in the attempt; but they were

The earl of Marr also assembled an army in Scotland, but he was discomfited and put to flight by the Duke of Argyle.

Howbeit great discontent prevailed through all the land, and great fear came upon the Whigs because of the Jacobites.

Many thought that the day of judgment was at hand, and cried out, What shall we do to be saved.

Then there arose among them a mighty man of the tribe of Whiganza, and he said unto them, Wherefore are ye afraid of the Jacobites? Are we not the salt of the earth? Who shall say unto us, what doeth thou? Let us make ourselves immortal.

And behold they brought in a bill, whereby the parliament which had been elected for three years, should sit seven years.

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overruled. Foster offered to capitulate; and the Scottish noblemen not choosing to run the risk of an obstinate resistance, persuaded the Highlanders to accept the terms that were offered. They accordingly laid down their arms and were put under a strong guard. All the noblemen and leaders were secured. The common men were imprisoned at Chester and Liverpool, the noblemen and considerable officers were sent to London, conveyed through the streets, pinioned like malefactors, and committed to the Tower and Newgate.

The earl of Marr also assembled an army in Scotland.] This nobleman was the leader of the rebellion of 1715, and commanded the main body of the rebels. On the same day that the insurgents surrendered at Preston, was fought the battle of Dumblaine between the Duke of Argyle and the Earl of Marr. On the 12th day of the month, Argyle passed the Forth at Airling, and encamped with his left at Dumblaine, and his right towards Meriffmoor. The Earl of Marr advanced within two miles of his camp, and remained till day break in order of battle; his army consisting of nine thousand effective men, cavalry as well as infantry. In the morning, the Duke drew up his forces, which did not exceed three thousand five hundred men, on the heights to the north-east of Dumblaine; but he was out flanked both on the right and the left. The clans that formed part of the right and centre of the enemy, with Glengary and Clonronald at their head, charged the left of the king's army, sword in hand, with such impetuosity, that in seven minutes, both horse and foot were totally routed with great slaughter. In the mean time the Duke of Argyle, who commanded in person on the right, attacked the left of the enemy, at the head of Stairs and Evans's dragoons, and drove them two miles before him, as far as the water of Allon; yet in that space they wheeled about and attempted to rally ten times, so that he was obliged to press them hard, that they might not recover from their confusion. The Duke of Argyle returning from the pursuit, joined Brigadier Wightman, who had taken possession of some enclosures and mud walls, in expectation of being attacked. In this posture, both armies fronted each other till the evening, when the Duke drew off towards Dumblaine, and the rebels retired to Ardoch, without mutual molestation. Next day, the Duke marching back to the field of battle, carried off the wounded, with four pieces of cannon left by the enemy, and retreated to Stirling. Few prisoners were taken on either side; the number of slain might be about five hundred of each army, and both generals claimed the victory.

And this has been called the *Septennial Act.*

And behold it came to pass in these days, that a strong delusion was sent amongst them, and all the people of the land were stricken with madness.

After this undecisive battle, the rebels dispersed, and the rebellion was entirely subdued. Seven of the rebel lords were impeached by the commons, at the bar of the house of lords, and sentenced to be beheaded. The countess of Nithisdale and lady Nairne threw themselves at the King's feet, as he passed through the apartments of the palace and implored his mercy in behalf of their husbands: but their tears and intreaties produced no effect. The council resolved that the sentence should be executed, and orders were given for that purpose to the lieutenant of the Tower, and the sheriffs of London and Middlesex. Derwentwater and Kenmuir were beheaded on the 24th of February, the others were respited to the 7th of March. Nithisdale made his escape in woman's apparel, furnished and conveyed to him by his own mother. The conduct of the two unfortunate lords excited a very general sympathy, and their execution tended to increase the general spirit of disaffection to the government. Derwentwater was an amiable youth, brave, open, generous, hospitable, and humane. His fate drew tears from the spectators, and was a great misfortune to the country where he lived. He gave bread to multitudes of people whom he employed on his estates; the poor, the widow, and the orphan rejoiced in his bounty. Kenmuir was a virtuous nobleman, calm, sensible, resolute, and resigned. Both adhered to their political principles.

And this has been called the Septennial Act.] The repeal of the Triennial Act, made in the 6th year of King William and Queen Mary, is an indelible blot in the history of the Whigs, and clearly evinces the selfish and unprincipled character of that faction. This party was decidedly unpopular, and it was from a dread of submitting their conduct to the sense of the nation, that induced them to have recourse to this unconstitutional measure. It was at first proposed only to suspend the Triennial Act for once, whereby the parliament would have continued three years beyond the time it was to determine; but it was afterwards thought that a bill for enlarging the continuance in parliament would be more convenient and effectual. This important change in the constitution of the House of Commons originated in the following manner:—On the month of April, in the evening, twenty of the court lords met at the Duke of Devonshire's, where, after a short consultation, it was resolved that the Duke should immediately introduce the matter into the House of Lords. Accordingly the next day, after the lords had despatched some private business, the duke stood up and made a speech on the inconvenience that attended short parliaments; suggesting in particular, that they kept up party divisions, raise domestic feuds and animosities in private families, occasion ruinous expenses, and give occasion to the cabals and intrigues of foreign princes * It is unnecessary to reply to such sophistry, and to show the superiority of short over long parliaments, and the greater security they afford to the liberties of the people, and against corruption and intrigue. But it is curious to observe the conduct of the rival factions: it affords a striking illustration of the despicable nature of party, and the wretched hypocrisy and contradiction in which it involves its partizans. The Tories, on *popular grounds*, opposed the Septennial bill, contending it was a violation of the constitution, and dangerous to the liberties of the people. There was no merit in their opposition; it was not from principle but from faction: it afforded them an opportunity of annoying their opponents, by assailing

* Tindal's contin. v. xix. p. 5.

They looked towards the Southern sea, and behold a surprising bubble arose on the surface of the water; its circumference filled the firmament of heaven, and its height reached unto the clouds.

And in the midst of the bubble were seen the appearance of sumptuous palaces, fine gardens, gilt chariots, gold, silver, and precious stones, and whatsoever the heart of man could desire.

And the people ran together in crowds, saying, *We will be rich; we will all be lords and princes of the earth.*

Many also disposed of their lands and their houses, their goods and their merchandise, their plate, their jewels, and their clothes, in order to purchase the shadows in the bubble.

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them with their own weapons. The Whigs, to preserve their places and influence in the government, adopted the principles and reasoning of Tories. Such is party! The Septennial Act received the royal in assent, in May, 1716.

They looked towards the Southern sea.] This alludes to the famous South Sea scheme. The scheme was first projected by Sir John Blunt, who had been bred a scrivener, and was possessed of all the cunning, boldness, and plausibility requisite for such an undertaking. He communicated his plan to Mr. Aislabie, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, as well as to one of the Secretaries of State. He answered all their objections, and the project was adopted. The pretence for the scheme was to discharge the national debt by reducing all the funds into one. An act passed for this purpose. At first the South-sea stock did not rise according to the expectation of the projector. To remedy this, Blunt caused a report to be circulated that Gibraltar and Port-Mahon would be exchanged for some places in Peru; by which means the English trade to the South-sea would be protected and enlarged. This rumour, diffused by his emissaries, acted like a contagion. In five days, the directors opened their books for a subscription of one million, at the rate of three hundred pounds for every hundred pounds capital. Persons of all ranks crowded to the house in such a manner, that the first subscription exceeded two millions of original stock. In a few days the stock advanced to three hundred and forty pounds; and the subscriptions were sold for double the price of the first payment. Without detailing the various scandalous artifices to enhance the price of stock and decoy the unwary, we shall only observe, that, by the promise of prodigious dividends and other infamous arts, the stock was raised to one thousand, and the whole nation infected with the spirit of stock-jobbing to an astonishing degree. All distinctions of party, religion, sex, character, and circumstances, were swallowed up in this universal concern, or in some such pecuniary project. Exchange Alley was filled with a strange concourse of statesmen and clergymen, churchmen and dissenters, whigs and tories, physicians, lawyers, tradesmen, and a multitude of women of all ranks and degrees. All other professions and employments were utterly neglected, and the people's attention engrossed by this and other chimerical schemes, which were known by the denomination of bubbles. New companies started up every day under the countenance of the prince and nobility. The Prince of Wales was constituted governor of the Welsh copper company; the duke of Chandos appeared at the head of the York-buildings; the duke of Bridgewater formed a third for building houses in London and Westminster. About

Howbeit the delusion began to abate, and whilst they were looking, lo the bubble brake, and all the gay appearances vanished into smoke!

Then were heard weepings and wailings, and bitter lamentations: he whose delusive dreams had flattered him with delicious gardens and a sumptuous palace, awakes and finds himself in a wretched garret, or sweeping those walks which he had planted for himself. He whose gilt liveries had glittered in his imagination, is compelled for want to wear one himself; and he who fed on venison at five guineas a haunch, now dines in Pudding-Lane on a two-penny chop.

But woe unto you managers, woe unto you jobbers, woe unto you the directors thereof! for the miseries of the land are at your doors; the cries of the poor are against you; the ruin of thousands compel them to curse you, and the vengeance of heaven shall fall heavy on your heads.

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a hundred such schemes were projected and put in execution, to the ruin of many thousands. The nation was so intoxicated with the spirit of adventure, that people became a prey to the grossest delusions. An obscure projector, pretending to have formed a very advantageous scheme, which, however, he did not explain, published proposals for a subscription, in which he promised that in one month the particulars of his projects should be disclosed. In the mean time, he declared that every person paying two guineas should be entitled to a subscription of £100, which would produce that sum yearly. In one forenoon this adventurer received a thousand of these subscriptions, amounting to two thousand guineas, and in the evening left the kingdom.

Howbeit the delusion began to abate.] The infatuation prevailed till the eight day of September, when the stock began to fall. Then some of the adventurers began to awake from their delirium. The number of sellers daily increased On the 29th day in the month, the stock had sunk to one hundred and fifty; several eminent goldsmiths and bankers, who had lent great sums upon it, were obliged to stop payment and abscond. The ebb of this portentuous tide was so violent that it bore down every thing in its way; and an infinite number of families overwhelmed with ruin. Public credit sustained a terrible shock, the nation was thrown into a dangerous ferment, and nothing heard but the ravings of grief, disappointment, and despair. *Smollett's Contin.* v. ii. page 402.

But woe unto you managers.] A secret committee was appointed by the House of Commons to discover the parties implicated in this nefarious transaction. On the first report of the committee, they informed the house, that they had already discovered a train of the deepest villany and fraud that hell ever contrived to ruin a nation, and the meanwhile they recommended the seizure of the persons of some of the principal officers and directors of the South-sea company, as well as their papers. An order

And behold there was great wickedness in the land; and men began to laugh at the religion of their forefathers, and in their hearts to curse God.

was made to secure the books and papers of Knight, Surman, and Turner. The persons of Sir John Blunt, Sir George Caswell, Sir John Lambert, Sir John Fellows, and Mr. Grigsby, were taken into custody. Five members were expelled the House and apprehended. Mr. Aislabie resigned his employment of Chancellor of Exchequer, and lord of the Treasury, and orders were given to remove all directors of the South-sea company from the places they possessed under government. The directors were then ordered to deliver in inventories of their estates, which, after deducting a certain sum for each, according to his circumstances and conduct, were confiscated for the benefit of the sufferers by the South sea scheme. The value of their estates given in upon oath, amounted to about £2,014,000, of which £334,000 was left to the proprietors.

The following is the inventory of the estates and allowances of some of the directors and servants of the South Sea Company:

	Inventories.	Allowances.
Sir John Fellows, sub-governor	£243,096	£10,000
Sir John Blunt	183,349	1,000
Mr. Chester	140,372	10,000
Mr. Child	52,487	10,000
Mr. Eyles	34,329	20,000
Mr. Gibbon	106,543	10,000
Mr. Hawes.....	40,031	31
Sir Theodore Janssen.....	248,234	50,000
Sir John Lambert	72,508	5,000
Mr. Read	117,297	10,000
Mr. Sowbridge	77,254	5,000
Mr. Surman, deputy cashier.....	121,321	5,000
Mr. Grigsby	31,687	2,000
Sir Lambert Blackwell	83,529	10,000

Some alleviations were afterwards made in these allowances. Sir John Blunt had £5000 instead of £1000. Sir Lambert Blackwell £15,000 instead of £10,000, and Mr. Hawes £5000 instead of £31. A motion was made to reduce Sir Theodore Janssen's allowance to £30,000, but it was rejected. On a motion to allow Grigsby, accountant to the company, £10,000, a member said, "That, since that upstart was once so prodigally vain as to bid his coachman feed his horses with gold, no doubt he could feed on it himself; and therefore he moved that he should be allowed as much gold as he could eat, and that the rest of the estate go towards the relief of the sufferers." However, he was allowed £2000. Mr. Aislabie's affair occasioned debates proportionable to his great riches and the multitude of his friends. He was allowed all the estate he possessed on the 20th of October, 1718. His country house, gardens, and park, with his wife's jewels and household goods were also excepted from the forfeiture.—*Tindal's Contin.* vol. xix. p. 413.

And behold there was great wickedness] During the infatuation produced by the infamous South Sea bubble, luxury, vice, and profligacy increased to a shocking degree of extravagance. The adventurers, intoxicated by their imaginary wealth, pampered themselves with the rarest dainties, and the most expensive wines that could be imported; they purchased the most sumptuous furniture, equipage, and apparel, though without taste or discernment. They indulged their criminal passions to the most scandalous excess; their discourse was the language of pride, insolence, and

Then the bishops and priests were greatly alarmed, and a law was made whereby all men were to be of one mind; and it was commanded that they should believe all things according to Act of Parliament.

And the king issued a decree, commanding that no preacher whatsoever, in his sermon or lecture, should preach any doctrine concerning the truth of our holy religion, particularly concerning the Holy Trinity, other than what is contained in the Holy Scriptures, and agreeable to the three creeds and the thirty-nine articles.

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the most ridiculous ostentation;—they affected to scoff at religion and morality, and even to set heaven at defiance. Several societies were formed of the most atrocious description for the encouragement of debauchery and profaneness. Among others was one called the *Hell-Fire-Club*, which excited a great noise. The rites of this fraternity were said to resemble the practices of the Mohawks, and were of the most abominable description. Several persons of quality, particularly the duke of Wharton, were supposed to be members of this club. The ancestor of this nobleman had already rendered himself notorious by his licentiousness and impiety. It is related of him that, under pretence of endowing a parish church, he stole into the pulpit and left behind him a most offensive donation.

Then the bishops and priests were greatly alarmed, and a law was made.] The earl of Nottingham having complained of the growth of atheism and immorality, a bill was introduced for suppressing blasphemy and prophaneness. It contained several articles which had little relation to the practices complained of, and was chiefly designed to secure a belief of the Articles, and restrain the liberty granted by the laws of the last session to dissenters. It was supported by the Archbishop of Canterbury, lord Bathurst and Trevor, the Bishops of London, Westminster, Lichfield, and Coventry. One of these said, he verily believed the present calamity, occasioned by the South Sea project, was a judgement of God on the blasphemy and prophaneness of the nation. Lord Onslow replied, "That noble peer must be a considerable sinner, for he has lost considerably by the South Sea scheme." The duke of Wharton said, that he was not unsensible of the common opinion of the town concerning himself, and gladly seized this opportunity of vindicating his character, by declaring that he was far from being a patron of blasphemy, or an enemy to religion; on the other hand, he could not but oppose the bill, because he conceived it to be repugnant to the Holy Scripture. Then pulling an old family Bible from his pocket, he quoted several passages from the epistles of St. Peter and St. Paul; concluding with a desire that the bill might be thrown out. The Earl of Peterborough declared that, though he was for a parliamentary king, yet he did not desire a parliamentary God, or a parliamentary religion; and should the house declare for one of this kind, he would go to Rome, and endeavour to be chosen a cardinal; for he had rather sit in the conclave than with their lordships upon those terms. After some other speeches the bill was postponed to a long day by a considerable majority.

And the king issued a decree.] Directions were published to the archbishops and bishops, for the preservation of unity in the church, and the purity of the Christian faith, particularly in the doctrine of the Trinity. They were required to see that no preacher in his sermon or lecture delivered any thing contrary to the creeds, the thirty-nine articles, and other forms of the established church.

Howbeit these things came to naught, and the people laughed greatly because of the folly thereof.

Now the rest of the acts of King George, and all that he did, are they not written in the books of the chronicles of the kings of England?

And George slept with his fathers, and was buried in his own tomb, at Hanover, and George his son reigned in his stead.

Howbeit these things came to naught.] The alarm arose principally about the doctrine of the Trinity—that great stumbling-block to common sense. This had been attacked by Mr. Whiston, in his letter to the earl of Nottingham concerning "the eternity of the Son of God and the Holy Ghost." To this the noble earl replied, and received the thanks of both Universities for his able defence of the Christian or rather parliamentary faith. About the same time Mr. Joseph Hall, mace-bearer to the king, and justice of the peace, was sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay £200 fine, to be three months in prison, and give security for seven years for his "Sober Reply to Mr. Higg's merry Argument for the Trithestical Doctrine of the Trinity." All persons denying one of the persons of the Trinity to be God, &c. were to be incapable of any office, and to suffer imprisonment for three years.

And George slept with his fathers.] The circumstances of the king's death are nearly as follows:—He had not visited his German dominions these two years, and therefore, soon after the termination of the session, he set out on his journey to Hanover. He landed on the 7th at Vaert, in Holland, where he lay that night. The next day he proceeded on his journey to Hanover, and, on the 9th of June, arrived at Delden, in all appearance in perfect health. He supped there very heartily, and eat an orange, but no melon, as was reported; and having rested well that night, set out from Delden about four the next morning. Between eight and nine he ordered the coach to stop, in order to make water, and perceiving that one of his hands being motionless, said "I cannot move this hand." Monsieur Fabrice rubbed it with both his, but to no effect; upon this he called the surgeon, who followed on horseback, who rubbed it with spirits. In this interval the king's eyes and mouth began to move strangely, and his tongue to swell, so that he could not speak. The surgeon taking it for an apoplectic fit, opened a vein, and the king recovered his speech, so as to say, "Hasten to Osnaburg," but immediately fell into a slumber in Fabrice's arms. Arriving at Osnaburg, he was immediately carried to bed, where he continued speechless and in agonies till two o'clock in the morning, on Sunday the 11th of June, when he expired, in the sixth-eighth year of his age; and was interred at Hanover.

Application.

George I. was plain and simple in his person and address; grave and composed in his deportment, though easy, familiar, and facetious in his hours of relaxation. Before he ascended the throne of Great Britain, he had acquired the character of a circumspect general, a just and merciful prince, a wise politician, who perfectly understood and steadily pursued his own interest. With these qualities it cannot be doubted that he came to England extremely well disposed to govern his subjects according to the maxims of the constitution, and the genius of the people; and if ever he seemed to deviate from these principles, we may take it for granted that he was misled by the venal suggestions of a ministry, whose power and influence were founded on corruption.—*Smollett*, vol. ii. p. 159.

Thus much for the general character of this prince. I shall only add a few anecdotes to illustrate his private history, and which are not to be found in the general history of this period. It is well known that George I. during the whole of his reign did not live with his wife, but kept her closely confined in an Hanoverian dungeon. His strange conduct is ascribed to jealousy of the count Konigsmark, a Swedish nobleman, who was assassinated in the electoral palace, and in whose death the King was supposed to be implicated. Lord Orford, who, from his near relationship to the minister, Sir Robert Walpole, was well acquainted with the secret history of this and the following reign, gives a particular account of this dark transaction; and it will hardly be necessary to apologise for its insertion. In his "Reminiscences," is the following narrative of this mysterious affair:

"George I. while electoral prince, had married his cousin, the Princess Dorothea, only child of the Duke of Zel; a match of convenience, to reunite the dominions of the family. Though she was very handsome, the prince, who was extremely amorous, had several mistresses; which provocation, and his absence in the army of the confederates, probably disposed the princess to indulge some degree of coquetry. At that moment arrived at Hanover the famous and beautiful Count Konigsmark, the charms of whose person ought not to have obliterated the memory of his vile assassination of M. Thynne. His vanity and the beauty of the electoral princess, and the neglect under which he found her, encouraged his presumption to make his addresses to her, not covertly; and she, though believed not to have transgressed her duty, did receive them too indiscreetly. The old Elector, flamed at the insolence of so stigmatized a pretender, ordered him to quit his dominions next day. The princess, surrounded by women too closely connected with her husband, and consequently enemies of the lady they injured, was persuaded by them to suffer the count to kiss her hand before his abrupt departure; and he was actually introduced by them next morning into her bedchamber before she rose. From that moment he disappeared, nor was it known what became of him, till on the death of George I. on his son, the new king's first journey to Hanover, some alterations in the palace being ordered, the body of Konigsmark was discovered under the floor of the electoral princess's dressing-room; the count probably having been strangled there the instant he left her, and his body secreted. The discovery was hushed up; George II. entrusted the secret to his wife, Queen Caroline, who told it to my father: but the king was too tender of the honour of his mother to utter it to his mistress; nor did lady Suffolk ever hear of it till I informed her of it several years afterwards. The disappearance of the Count made his murder suspected, and various reports of the discovery of his body have of late years been spread, but not with the authentic circumstances."—*Lord Orford's Works*, vol. iv. p. 280-1.

After this, George separated from the Electress, and for the remainder of her life she was kept in close confinement, under the title of the duchess of Halle. His treatment of this unfortunate woman seems neither consonant with justice nor humanity; for though there might be some levity, it does not appear there was any thing criminal in her intercourse with the unfortunate Konigsmark. At all events, his own conduct, which was licentious enough, ought to have made him more indulgent to the frailties of his spouse. When he came over to England, he brought with him two German mistresses; Sophia, baroness Kilmanseck, and Melesina, princess of Eberstein; the one created countess of Darlington, the other duchess of Kendal. He was, indeed, a very amorous monarch. Even at sixty-seven, he was about to form a new connexion with Miss Brett, when he was carried off by an apoplectic stroke. It is reported, that he was privately married to the duchess of Kendal by the left hand. The German law, it is supposed, allowing a husband to espouse another woman by the left hand, when his wife has suffered the right to be kissed in bed by a gallant.

While we are upon the history of the royal strumpetocracy of the English court, we shall mention an anecdote of lady Dorchester, the mistress of James II. which hap-

pened about this time. Meeting the duchess of Portsmouth and lady Orkney, the favourite of William, at the drawing-room of George I. "God!" said she, "who would have thought that we three w——s should have met here." On another occasion this lady, who was remarkable for her wit and humour, expressed her wonder for what James chose his mistresses. "We are none of us handsome," said she, "and if we have wit, he has not enough to find it out."

We have picked up a good many such anecdotes in the course of our reading, but we will only mention another, which is a good one. One of George I.'s mistresses being abused by the mob, put her head out of the coach, and said, in bad English, "Good people, why you abuse us? We come for all your goods." "Yes, d—n ye," answered a fellow in the crowd, "and all our chattels too."

The King was fond of punch, and he and sir R. Walpole used to indulge freely in that favourite beverage, on their hunting excursions. He never could speak English correctly, and his Minister always conversed with him in Latin. Horace Walpole relates that, when the duke of Cumberland, then a child, was carried to his grandfather, on his birth-day, the King asked him at what hour he rose. The Prince replied, "when the chimney-sweepers went about." "Vat is de chimney-sweeper?" said the King. "Have you been so long in England," said the boy, "and don't know what a chimney-sweeper is? Why they are like that man there,"—pointing to lord Finch, afterwards earl of Winchelsea and Nottingham, a family uncommonly swarthy.—Reminiscences, p. 276.

We now come to other subjects

There are two events in the foreign history of this period which deserve to be noticed, because they will show the intolerance and superstition which still prevailed in two of the first kingdoms in Europe. The king of France, Lewis XV. published a severe edict against all his protestant subjects: whoever performed any exercise of the reformed religion, if a man, was to be sent to the galleys; if a woman, to be shaved, and confined where the judges thought fit. The protestant preachers to be put to death; and those who had any communication, directly or indirectly, with such ministers, condemned to the galleys. To give their children foreign education, to be punished with a fine of 6000 livres: and the memory of those who died in the profession of the protestant religion, to be prosecuted. To these were added various other penalties for dissuading sick persons from dying catholics, marrying abroad without licence; and baptism and schooling were forbid to protestants.

The other event is the voluntary abdication of Philip V. king of Spain, while in health and strength, and retiring to the monastery of St. Ildefonso, on a pension of 100,000 pistoles. To this he said he was induced that he might devote the remainder of his days to the service of God, meditate on death, and seek salvation, disengaged from all other cares.

An attempt was made in this reign, in the Upper House, to limit the peerage, by preventing the present number being enlarged beyond six, and instead of the sixteen elective peers from Scotland, twenty five were to be made hereditary in that part of the kingdom This bill was an artful contrivance of the Whigs, and was intended as a restraint upon the prince of Wales, who happened to be at variance with the present ministry. The motion was supported by the duke of Argyle, the earls of Sunderland and Carlisle. It was opposed by the Tories, especially the earl of Oxford, who said that, although he expected nothing from the crown, he would never give his vote for lopping off so valuable a branch of the prerogative, which enabled the king to reward merit and virtuous actions. The debate was adjourned to the second of March, when another furious debate ensued betwixt the rival factions. The question here, as in almost every other dispute, was not, whether the measure proposed was advantageous to the nation? but, whether the Tory or the Whig interest should predominate in parliament. It alarmed the generality of Scottish peers, as well as many English commoners, who saw in the bill the avenues of dignity and title shut against them; and they did not fail to exclaim against it as an encroachment on the funda-

mental maxims of the Constitution. Treatises were written and published on both sides, and, a national clamour beginning to arise, the bill was abandoned.

A monstrous scene of venality was discovered, in 1724, in the Court of Chancery. Thomas, earl of Macclesfield, Lord Chancellor, was accused of certain corrupt practices, touching the sale of places, and the money of suitors deposited with the masters of Chancery. He was impeached by the Commons at the bar of the Upper House. The charges against him may be reduced to the following heads: that he had embezzled the estates and effects of many widows, orphans, and lunatics: that he had raised the offices of masters in Chancery to an exorbitant price; trusting in their hands enormous sums of money, in order that they might be enabled to comply with his exorbitant demands; and that in several cases he had made divers irregular orders. The trial lasted twenty days: the Earl was convicted of fraudulent practices; and condemned in a fine of £30,000, with imprisonment till that sum should be paid. He was immediately committed to the Tower, where he continued about six weeks; but, upon producing the money, he was discharged. Sir Peter King, created baron of Oakham, and originally a grocer in the west of England, succeeded him in the office of Chancellor.

These were glorious days for Whiggism; they ruled the King with absolute sway, and engrossed all places of trust and emolument. Their chief crimes, during this reign, were the following: the repeal of the Triennial Act,—the forcible disarming of the Highlanders, in 1715, under pretence of securing the public peace,—the Suspension of the Habeas Corpus Act,—the relentless and vindictive prosecution of the ministry of Queen Anne,—the passing of the Riot Act,—and the South Sea scheme.

With the exception of the introduction of the practice of inoculation for the small-pox, there is no other domestic event of importance.

XXXIV.—GEORGE II.

And George was forty and four years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England thirty and four years, and then he died. And at the beginning of his reign he was extremely popular; many

And at the beginning of his reign he was extremely popular.] Like his predecessors and successors, George II. began with promising the people with what ought to be done, rather than with what it was intended to do. He promised to conclude a general peace as soon as it could be done on terms honourable and safe to the nation. He said, that his first care should be to adopt measures of reform and retrenchment, as soon as they were compatible with the interest and safety of the people. With many other promises of similar popular import, put into his mouth by ministers, who sought thereby to soothe the minds of the people into an immediate concurrence with their measures. The two houses vied with each other in expressions of applause and affection to the King. The Lords in their address hailed him as the best of kings and the true *Father of his country*. The Commons expressed the warmest sense of gratitude for the blessing they had enjoyed under his reign, though it was not yet *eight months old*. It is curious to observe, how mankind are imposed upon by similar artifices, and

promises did he make unto his people of the great things he would do for them; and they believed all that he said, calling him the best of kings and the father of his country.

And he made treaties and alliances with Sweden, and Hesse, and Wolfenbuttel, so that it became clear to all men that the king loved his native country above all other countries.

Howbeit the wealth of the country increased; and notwithstanding all the debts and burdens of the people, trade and manufactures flourished beyond what was known in former periods.

And men because of their riches became vicious: great crimes were perpetrated: luxury and excess flowed through all ranks of

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how, for centuries together, the same fallacious promises are received with the same implicit credulity.

And he made treaties and alliances with Sweden.] Among the ridiculous continental alliances formed about this period, was that with the petty duke of Wolfenbuttel, who very gravely guarantees to his Britannic Majesty the possession of his three kingdoms, and obliges himself to furnish his Majesty with five thousand men, in consideration of an annual subsidy of five and twenty thousand pounds for four years. The great defect of the King's public conduct was his obstinate adherence to his German connexions; and in this unfortunate predilection which, in him might be ascribed to a natural affection for his native country, he was supported by a succession of venal ministers, all of whom, from Walpole to Chatham, to ingratiate themselves with the monarch, devoted themselves to the support of a system of policy prejudicial to the true interests of the country.

Howbeit the wealth of the country increased.] Commerce and manufactures continued rapidly to extend themselves from the period of the Revolution, and even prior to that event. Some have ascribed the prosperity of the country to the debt and taxes imposed during this period. But this is certainly an error; and it may be more truly said, that trade and manufactures have increased in spite of these obstacles, from the superior industry and skill of the people. However this may be, whether it be owing to the natural progression of trade from its origin to its acme, or to the encouragement given by the administration to monied men to risk their capitals, or solely to the skill and industry of the people; or lastly, to all these causes; certain it is, that the capital and wealth of the country prodigiously increased within the last century.

And men because of their riches became vicious.] Smollett, speaking of the prosperity of the country at this time, says, "Commerce and manufacture flourished again to such a degree of increase as had never been known in this island; but this advantage was attended with an irresistible tide of luxury and excess, which flowed through all degrees of the people, breaking down all the mounds of civil policy, and opening a way for licentiousness and immorality. The highways were infested with rapine and assassination; the cities teemed with the brutal votaries of lewdness, intemperance, and profligacy. The whole land was overspread with a succession of riot, tumult, and insurrection, excited in different parts of the kingdom by the erection of new turnpikes, which the legislature judged necessary for the convenience of inland carriage. In

people: the highways were infested with robbers and assassins; the cities were filled with harlots; and lewdness, and intemperance, and debauchery, overspread the country.

And it came to pass that the judgment of the Lord went forth among the people, because of their desperate wickedness; and many signs appeared in the air to warn them from their evil ways.

And there went forth a prophet, and he prophesied, saying, Thus

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order to quell these disturbances recourse was had to the military power; several individuals were slain, and some were executed as examples."—*Contin. of Hume*, vol. iii. p. 275.

The rage too for drinking GIN exceeded all bounds. The populace of London were sunk into the most brutal degeneracy by drinking to excess this pernicious spirit, which was sold so cheap that the lowest classes could afford to indulge themselves in one continued state of intoxication, to the destruction of all morals, health, and industry. Such a shameful degree of profligacy prevailed, that the retailers of this poisonous compound set up painted boards in public, inviting people to be drunk for the small expense of *one penny*, assuring them they might be dead drunk for *twopence*, and have straw for nothing. They accordingly provided cellars and places strewed with straw, to which they conveyed these miserable wretches who were overwhelmed with intoxication. In these dismal caverns they lay till they had recovered some use of their faculties, and then they had recourse to the same mischievous potion, thus consuming their health, and ruining their families, in hideous receptacles of the most filthy vice, resounding with riot and execration. A law was introduced to regulate the madness of gin drinkers, by imposing higher duties on this favourite liquor; but with little success; and GIN continues the favourite beverage of Cockneys unto this day.

And it came to pass that many signs appeared in the air.] The middle of this reign, in the months of January and February, was distinguished by several remarkable phenomena. The first was distinguished by a very remarkable Aurora Borealis appearing at night to the north east, of a deep and dusky red colour, like the reflection of some great fire, for which it was by many people mistaken. February was ushered in by terrible peals of thunder, flashes of lightning, and such a tempest of wind, hail, and rain, as overwhelmed with fear and consternation the inhabitants of Bristol, where it chiefly raged. On the eigth day of the same month, between twelve and one in the afternoon, the people of London were still more dreadfully alarmed by the shock of an earthquake, which shook all the houses with such violence, that the furniture rocked on the floors, the pewter and porcelain rattled on the shelves, the chamber bells rang, and the whole of this commotion was attended with a crash or noise that resembled the falling of a heavy piece of furniture. The shock extended through the cities of London and Westminster, and was felt on both sides the river Thames from Greenwich to the westward of London; but not perceptible at a considerable distance. On the very same day of the next month, between five and six o'clock in the morning, the inhabitants of the metropolis were again affrighted with a second shock, more violent than the first, and abundantly more alarming, as it waked the greater part of the people from their repose.

And there went forth a prophet.] The circumstance of the second shock happening exactly one month after the first, and being more violent, made a deep impression on the weak and superstitious, and they expected that the next shock, increasing in pro-

says the Lord, behold in three days I will destroy this great city, the city of London, the mother of harlots, the abode of fornicators, adulterers, and backsliders.

And great fear came upon the people because of this prophecy; many repented of their sins: the temples were crowded with penitents: the sons of riot and disorder were over-awed into sobriety and decorum: the streets no longer resounded with the noise of brutal licentiousness: and the hand of charity was liberally opened.

Many fled from the devoted city in dismay, and the highways were crowded with horses and carriages.

Those who treated the prophet with ridicule and contumely, became alarmed; their hearts failed them; and in proportion as the appointed hour approached, their philosophy vanished, and they began to pray.

Howbeit the thing came not to pass; some say the Lord repented him of his saying, others, that the prophet was a liar and a fanatic; be this as it may, the city is standing unto this day: and as soon as the danger was passed, the people returned to their sins with redoubled ardour, and bid defiance to the vengeance of Heaven.

And in those days there arose a man out of the tribe of Whiganza,

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portion, would be more dismal in its consequences. This notion was confirmed among all ranks of people by the admonitions of a fanatick soldier, who publicly preached up repentance, and boldly prophecied that the next shock would happen on the same day in April, and totally destroy the cities of London and Westminster. Considering the infectious nature of fear and superstition, and the manner in which the imagination had been prepared, it is no wonder that the prediction of this illiterate enthusiast should fill the minds of the inhabitants with apprehension. It is a fact, that, in consequence of this prophecy, the open fields that skirt the metropolis, were, on the fatal eighth of April, the day on which the city was to be overwhelmed, filled with an incredible number of people, assembled in chairs, in chaises, and in coaches, as well as on foot, waiting, in the most fearful suspense, till the morning, when the return of day disproved this ominous prediction.

And in those days there arose a man out of the tribe of Whiganza, named Robert Walpole.] This famous corruptionist was the second son of Robert Walpole, M. P. for Castle Rising, in Norfolk, and was born at Haughton, in that county, August 26, 1676. He received the rudiments of learning at a private seminary at Mossingham, in Norfolk, and completed his education on the foundation at Eton. He was naturally indolent, and disliked application, but the emulation of a public seminary, the alternate promises and menaces of his master, and the maxim inculcated by his father that he was but a

named Robert Walpole, and he was famous above all his predecessors in the arts of corruption.

And Robert was found guilty of bribery, and committed to the Tower of London, there to remain during the pleasure of his honourable prosecutors.

Howbeit the king loved him greatly, and he rose into power and great glory, and he stole away the hearts of his followers by places and reversions.

Nevertheless his administration was extremely inglorious; the

younger brother, overcame the natural inertness of his disposition. He was designed for the church, but on his elder brother dying, he became heir to the paternal estate; and on returning to Houghton his mornings being spent in farming and the sports of the field, he had little leisure for literary pursuits. In July, 1700, he married Catherine, daughter of sir John Shute, lord mayor of London; and his father dying he inherited the family estate of somewhat more than £2000 a year. He also succeeded his father as M P. for Castle Rising, and his parliamentary career commenced.

And Robert was found guilty of bribery.] It was in the reign of Queen Anne, when Walpole was Secretary at War, that he was found guilty of bribery on account of a forage contract. The resolutions of the house on this subject were as follows: "That Robert Walpole, Esq. a member of this house, in receiving the sum of 500 guineas, and in taking a note for five hundred pounds more on account of two contracts for forage for her Majesty's troops, quartered in North Britain, made by him when Secretary at War, pursuant to a power granted to him by the late Lord Treasurer, is guilty of a high *breach of trust and notorious corruption:* That the said Robert Walpole, Esq. be committed prisoner to the Tower of London during the pleasure of this house; and that Mr. Speaker do issue his warrant accordingly: That for the said offence he be also expelled the House."

According to these resolutions Mr. Walpole surrendered himself the next morning prisoner to the Tower, where he remained till the end of the session. It was thought by some that his guilt was not fully established, and that his chief error was his attachment to the Marlborough and Godolphin ministry.* He was looked upon by the whigs as a sort of confessor and martyr of their party. In the next reign he had an ample opportunity for gratifying his resentment against his prosecutors, being chairman to the committee appointed to inquire into the conduct of the Tory administration.

Howbeit the King loved him greatly—places and reversions.] He was the favourite minister both of George I. and George II. The former being ignorant of the language he could only converse with him in Latin; but, notwithstanding that obstacle, and the opposition of the duchess of Kendal, the king's mistress, he succeeded in maintaining his influence. As to places and reversions, he is accused of bestowing these very liberally on his relations and friends. He was also accused of keeping an office in the Strand, where places were sold to the highest bidder, or of grants of places in reversion, or for life to children and relations.—*History of Sir Robert Walpole's Administration*, p. 51.

Nevertheless his administration was extremely inglorious—the haughty Spaniards.] Ever since the treaty of Seville, the Spaniards in America had almost incessantly insulted

* History of the Administration of Sir R. Walpole, p. 12.

haughty Spaniards plundered the vessels of our merchants, and cut off the ears and slit the noses of our mariners with impunity.

And he invented many grievous imposts to oppress the people, and

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and distressed the commerce of Great Britain. They disputed the right of English traders to cut logwood in the bay of Campeachy, and gather salt on the island of Tortugas; though that right was acknowledged by implication in all the treaties which had been concluded between the two nations. The captains of their armed vessels, known by the name of guarda-costas, had made a practice of boarding and plundering British ships, on pretence of searching for contraband commodities, on which occasions they had behaved with the utmost insolence, cruelty, and rapine. Some of their ships of war had actually attacked a fleet of English merchant ships at the island of Tortugas, as if they had been at open enmity with England. They had seized and detained a great number of British vessels, imprisoned their crews, and confiscated their cargoes, in violation of treaties, in defiance of common justice and humanity.

The merchants of England loudly complained of these outrages; the nation was fired with resentment and cried for vengeance; but the minister appeared cold, phlegmatic, and timorous. He knew that a war must involve him in such difficulties, as must of necessity endanger his administration: the treasure now employed for domestic corruption, must, in that case, be expended in military armaments: the wheels of that machine by which he maintained his influence would no longer move: the opposition would of consequence gain ground, and the imposition of fresh taxes, necessary for the maintenance of the war, would fill up the measure of popular resentment against his person and ministry. Moved by these considerations, he industriously endeavoured to avoid a rupture, and to obtain some sort of satisfaction by memorials and negociations: but the Spaniards discovering his apprehensions, amused him with evasive answers, vague promises of inquiry, and cedulas of instructions sent to the Spanish governor in America, to which they paid no sort of regard. Petitions were delivered to the house by merchants from different parts of the kingdom, explaining the repeated violence to which they had been exposed, and imploring the relief of parliament. These were referred to a committee of the whole house, and an order was made to admit the petitioners if they should think fit to be heard by themselves or their counsel. The result of the whole was the conclusion of the Spanish convention, in which the honour of the country was basely compromised by the minister.

And he invented many grievous imposts to oppress the people.] "Never in the memory of man," says a contemporary writer, "was a nation so alarmed at the design of a minister as in the case of the projected excise on wine and tobacco in 1733." It was proposed, in lieu of certain duties, to substitute an inland tax on these commodities. It met the most formidable opposition from all classes, and the minister was compelled for the time to abandon his scheme. It was suggested by the opponents of the measure, that it would produce an additional swarm of excise-officers, and warehouse-keepers, appointed and paid by the treasury, so as to multiply the dependents of the crown, and enable it still farther to influence the freedom of elections; that the traders would become slaves to excisemen and warehouse-keepers, as they would be debarred all access to their commodities except at certain hours when attended by those officers; and that should such a law be once admitted, it would in all probability be some time or other used as a precedent for introducing excise laws into every branch of the revenue; in which case the *liberty of Great Britain would be no more.* In the course of the debate, the House was surrounded with immense multitudes of people, clamorous against the measure. Sir Robert Walpole, alluding

under pretence of restraining the licentiousness of the press, he artfully attempted to prevent the people speaking the truth and exposing his wickedness.

At length all men were weary of his cowardice and abominable corruption, and he was compelled to retire into obscurity.

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to this circumstance, said it would be an easy task for a designing seditious person to raise a tumult and disorder among them; that gentlemen might give them what name they might think fit, and affirm they were come as humble suppliants; but he knew whom the law called "*sturdy beggars*," and those who brought them there could not be certain but that they might behave in the same manner. This insinuation was resented by Sir John Bernard, who observed that he saw none about the House but such as deserved the appellation of sturdy beggars as little as the honourable gentleman himself, or any gentleman whatever. Had the minister encountered no opposition but within doors, his project would have been carried into execution; but the whole nation was alarmed, and clamoured loudly against the excise bill. The populace, crowding round Westminster-hall, blocked up all the avenues to the House of Commons. They even insulted the ministerial members, and Walpole began to be in fear of his life. He therefore thought proper to drop the design by postponing the bill.

At length all men became weary of his corrupt practices.] The corruption he practised was of that sort which still continues, and which must necessarily be co-existent with the system it supports. He lavished the wealth, power, and places, in the gift of the crown, in the purchase of parliamentary majorities. As his measures were more obnoxious, he was compelled to offer higher pay to the honourable members for their support: and accordingly we find that the sums expended under the head of *Secret Service*, enormously increased during his administration. From the year 1707 to the year 1717, the expenditure in this department amounted only to £279,444; but in the ten years of his ministry it swelled to £1,447,736. (*History of Sir R. Walpole's Administration*, p. 347.) Of this sum a great part was expended in controlling elections and on hireling writers. Among the items of disbursement under the first head are the following: £500 issued to the high-bailiff of Westminster, who was then in custody of the sergeant at arms, for having acted at the general election in an illegal manner, in prejudice of the rights and liberties of the electors of the said city; £500 advanced by Mr. Solicitor Paxtons to one Mr. Boteler, a candidate on the ministerial interest for Wendover, in 1735, without bond or receipt, on the sole merit of his having been ill used at his former election: several thousand pounds had been paid by Mr. Lawton, one of Walpole's agents, to carry on a prosecution, in order to new model the borough of Orford: several prosecutions were set on foot at the public charge, with a view to influence the elections at Colchester, to turn the borough, get out the mayor, and secure the returning officer.—*Ibid.* p. 347.

These items will sufficiently show the kind of traffic carried on by this immaculate minister among the rotten boroughs. A few more items exhibit a more *dignified* sort of corruption. We find one sum of £30,119:4s. to a *noble Earl*, for which no service is specified, though it is understood to signify a complication, including sundry speeches of the *noble Earl*, the return of several honourable members for the lower house, &c. We find another item of £7000 to a *noble Duke*, supposed to be for similar services. More than £170,000 was paid to the writers and proprietors of the Gazeteers, London Journals, Daily Courants, and other prostituted papers. Of this sum no less than £10,977 was paid within four years only to the celebrated Mr. William Arnall. But

Howbeit the king loved him as much as heretofore, and as an encouragement to succeeding ministers he conferred on him wealth

these details must suffice to celebrate the practices of the favourite minister of George II.

A dispute which happened betwixt Walpole and Mr. Stanhope, was near giving the public a glimpse of the practices by which the government was supported. Being irritated, in the course of the debate, the two ministers, in their mutual recriminations, dropped some allusions by which it appeared they had been concerned in the sale of places and reversions. A wily lawyer, Mr. Hungerford, perceiving the tendency of such disclosures, and apprehending that the whole mystery of government might be unfolded, said, "I am sorry to see these two *great men* fall foul on one another; however, in my opinion, we must still look upon them as *patriots, and fathers of their country*; and since they have, as by mischance, discovered their *nakedness*, we ought, according to the custom of the East, as the Scripture tells us, to cover it, by turning our backs upon them." This prudent suggestion was adopted.

Howbeit the king loved him as much as heretofore.] Having lost a parliamentary majority he resigned all his places, but with little diminution of the royal favour, for he not only rose himself to the dignity of an earl, with a pension or £4000 a-year, but got a natural daughter, whom he had by a woman he afterwards married, ennobled in her own name by the royal warrant. After his elevation, he spent the remainder of his life in retirement, and died in 1745. Sir William Wyndham, in the debate on the Septennial Act, draws the following portrait of this corrupt minister:—"Let us suppose," says he, "a man abandoned to all notions of virtue and honour, of no great family, and but a mean fortune, raised to be chief minister of state by the concurrence of many whimsical events; afraid, or unwilling to trust any but creatures of his own making; lost to all sense of shame and reputation; ignorant of his country's true interest; pursuing no aim but that of aggrandizing himself and his favourites; in foreign affairs trusting none but those who from the nature of their education cannot possibly be qualified for the service of their country, or give weight and credit to their negociations. Let us suppose the true interests of the nation, by such measures, neglected or misunderstood, her honour tarnished, her importance lost, her trade insulted, her merchants plundered, and her sailors murdered; and all these circumstances overlooked lest his administration should be endangered. Suppose him next possessed of immense wealth, the plunder of the nation, with a parliament chiefly composed of members whose seats are purchased, and whose votes are bought at the expense of the public treasure. In such a parliament suppose him screened by a corrupt majority of his creatures, whom he retains in daily pay, or engages in his particular interest, by distributing among them those posts and places, which ought never to be bestowed but for the public good. Let him plume himself upon his scandalous victory, because he has obtained a parliament like a packed jury, ready to acquit him at all adventures. Let us suppose him domineering with insolence over all the men of ancient families, over all the men of sense, figure, or fortune in the nation, and without virtue himself ridiculing it in others, and endeavouring to destroy or corrupt it in all."—*Smollett's Hist.* vol. ii. p. 538.

Sir Robert Walpole professed whig principles, and accordingly as he was in and out of place, exhibited the usual mutations of that singular party. In his patriot days, he opposed a standing army as unconstitutional and dangerous to the liberties of the people: when a minister, he was its strenuous supporter. On the complaint of a seditious libel, called the *Crisis*, written by Sir Richard Steel, he distinguished himself by a speech in behalf of a free press, and contended that it was the palladium

and great honours; so that the example of Walpole has continued unto this day.

Now it came to pass that the descendant of James, commonly called the Pretender, prepared to invade England, and recover back the throne of his forefathers.

And in the middle of the month called June, the prince, with a small number of followers arrived at Borodale, in Arnsacy, on the borders of Lochnanarch, where he was shortly joined by the tribes of Elcho, Pistligo, Ogilvie, Balmerino, Tullibardine, and Kilmanock, and other brave and valiant mountaineers.

Then the king issued a decree, offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds to any one who should apprehend the Pretender. And the merchants of the city raised subscriptions, and the great men soldiers to oppose the invader.

Howbeit the Pretender continued to advance, and in the month of September gave battle to the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans, and overthrew them with great slaughter: all the infantry were either killed or taken prisoners; and the colours,

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of our liberties. In 1737 he brought in a bill which limited the number of playhouses, and subjected all dramatic compositions to the licence of the Lord Chamberlain; thus was that powerful engine brought entirely under the controul of ministers. But it is unnecessary to descant on the inconsistences of a man whose infamy is notorious.

The king issued a decree offering a reward of thirty thousand pounds.] A proclamation was issued by the Pretender, offering a similar price for the head of the Elector of Hanover.

Howbeit the Pretender continued to advance—in the neighbourhood of Preston-pans.] In this battle the Pretender's force amounted to two thousand four hundred highlanders, half armed, who charged with such impetuosity, that in less than ten minutes after the battle began, the king's troops were broken and totally routed. The dragoons fled in the utmost confusion at the first onset; their officers having made some unsuccessful efforts to rally them, thought proper to consult their own safety by an expeditious retreat towards Coldstream, on the Tweed. In this victory not more than fifty of the rebels were slain, while of the king's troops five hundred were killed on the field of battle, and among those the celebrated Colonel Gardener, who, when abandoned by his own regiment, disdaining to save his life at the expense of his honour, alighted from his horse, and fought on foot till he fell covered with wounds, in sight of his own threshold. From this victory the prince reaped manifold and important advantages. His followers were armed, his party encouraged, and his enemies intimidated.

artillery, tents, military chests, and other spoil, fell into the hands of the victors, who returned to Edinburgh in great triumph.

Now Charles assembled all his forces, and finding they amounted to five thousand men, he determined to march into England through the western border. On the ninth day of the month called November, he invested Carlisle, which surrendered in three days, the mayor and aldermen delivering the keys on their knees.

Leaving a small garrison in the castle of Carlisle, he advanced to Penrith; marching on foot in the highland garb at the head of his forces; and continued his rout through Lancaster, Preston, Manchester, and Stockport, and on the fourth day of the month entered Derby.

Great alarm came upon the city of London because of his progress: all the Romish priests were apprehended: the militia of London and Middlesex were kept in readiness to march: double watches were posted at the city gates, and signals of alarm appointed: the volunteers of the city were formed into a regiment: the lawyers and attorneys, headed by the judges, the weavers of Spitalfields, and other communities, engaged into associations: and even the managers of theatres offered to raise a body of their dependants, to meet the invader.

Howbeit the angel of the Lord appearing unto the Pretender, so

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Great alarm came upon the city—other communities.] Notwithstanding all these precautions and preparations, the trading part of the city, and those concerned in money corporations, were overwhelmed with fear and dejection. They reposed very little confidence in the courage or discipline of their militia and volunteers: they had received intelligence that the French were making preparations at Dunkirk and Calais for a descent on England: they dreaded an insurrection of the Roman Catholics, and other friends of the House of Stuart: and they reflected that the Highlanders, of whom by this time they had conceived a terrible idea, were within four days march of the capital. Alarmed by these considerations, they prognosticated their own ruin in the approaching revolution; and their countenances exhibited the plainest marks of horror and despair. On the other hand, the Jacobites were elevated to an insolence of hope, which they were at no pains to conceal; while many people, who had no private property to lose, and thought no change could be for the worse, waited the issue of the crisis with the most calm indifference.

Nevertheless the angel of the Lord appearing unto the Pretender.] The state of surprise described in the last note was of short duration. The young Pretender found himself miserably disappointed in his expectations. He had now advanced into the

that he smote him with great fear, that he retired into the land of Scotland.

Then the duke of Cumberland, having assembled a numerous army, pursued him into Scotland, where a great battle was fought, and the Pretender and all his forces completely defeated.

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middle of the kingdom, and except a few that joined him at Manchester, not a soul appeared in his behalf; one would have imagined that all the Jacobites in England had been annihilated. The Welsh took no steps to excite an insurrection in his favour: the French made no attempts toward an invasion: his court was divided into factions: the Highland chiefs began to murmur, and their clans to be unruly: he saw himself with a handful of men hemmed in between two armies, in the middle of winter, and in a country disaffected to his cause. He knew he could not proceed to the metropolis without hazarding a battle, and that a defeat would be attended with the inevitable destruction of himself and all his adherents; and he had received information that his friends in the north had assembled a force superior to that with which he was attended. He called a council at Derby, and proposed to advance towards London: the proposal was supported by lord Nairn with great vehemence; but after violent disputes, the majority determined that they should retreat to Scotland with all possible expedition. Accordingly they abandoned Derby early in the morning, and measured back the route by which they had advanced. The retreat was made in great order; and notwithstanding the excessive cold, hunger, and fatigue, to which they must have been exposed, they left behind no sick, lost a very few stragglers, and carried off their cannon in the face of the enemy.

Then the duke of Cumberland, having assembled a numerous army, pursued them to Culloden.] The loss of this battle may be ascribed to an unfortunate attempt to surprise the royal army at Nairn, about nine miles distant from the rebels. The design of Charles was to march in the night from Culloden, and surprise the duke's army at day-break: for this purpose the English camp had been reconnoitred; and on the night of the 15th, the English army began to march in two columns. Their design was to surround the enemy, and attack them at once on all quarters: but the length of the columns embarrassed the march, so that the army was obliged to make many halts: the men had been under arms during the whole of the preceding night, were faint with hunger and fatigue, and many of them overpowered with sleep. Some were unable to proceed; others dropped off unperceived in the dark; and the march was retarded in such a manner, that it would have been impossible to reach the duke's camp before sun-rise. The design being thus frustrated, the Pretender, with great reluctance was prevailed upon to return to Culloden; where he had no sooner arrived, than great numbers of his followers dispersed in quest of provisions, and many, overcome with weariness and sleep, threw themselves down on the heath and along the park walls. Thus disappointed, fatigued, and disorganized, they were attacked next day by the Duke, and entirely defeated. Twelve hundred rebels were slain or wounded on the field and in the pursuit. The road as far as Inverness was strewed with dead bodies; and a great number of people, who, from motives of curiosity, had come to see the battle, were sacrificed to the undistinguishing vengeance of the victors. Provoked by former disgraces, the soldiers were actuated with the most savage thirst for vengeance. Not contented with the blood which was profusely shed in the heat of action, they traversed the field after the battle, and massacred those miserable wretches who lay maimed and expiring; nay, according to Smollett, some officers acted a part in this cruel scene of assassination,—the triumph of low illiberal minds, uninspired by sentiment, untinctured by humanity.

And great cruelties were committed by the troops of the King, for they spared neither man, nor woman, nor child; and the country was laid waste with fire and sword.

And the prince took refuge in the mountains from the pursuit of his enemies; and he was surrounded by armed troops, that chased

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And great cruelties were committed by the troops of the King.] The King's troops, after all resistance had ceased, were guilty of the most scandalous excesses. "In the month of May," says Smollett, "the duke of Cumberland advanced into the Highlands as far as Fort Augustus, where he encamped, and sent off detachments on all hands to hunt down the fugitives, and lay waste the country with fire and sword. The castles of Glengary and Lochiel were plundered and burned: every house, hut, or habitation, met with the same fate, without distinction: all the cattle and provisions were carried off; the men were either shot on the mountains like wild beasts, or put to death in cold blood without form of trial: the women, after having seen their husbands and fathers murdered, were subjected to brutal violation, and then turned out naked, with their children, to starve on the barren heaths. One whole family was enclosed in a barn, and consumed to ashes. These ministers of vengeance were so alert in the execution of their office, that in a few days there was neither house, cottage, nor beast to be seen in the compass of fifty miles: all was ruin, silence, and desolation."—*Continuation of Hume*, vol. iii. p 183.

For these *glorious* services the Duke was proclaimed a hero and deliverer: he received the thanks of both houses of Parliament: the Commons added twenty-five thousand pounds a year to his income: and his name was inserted in the *Liturgy*, to be prayed for by all the people of England.

And the Prince took refuge in the mountains.] After the battle the vanquished adventurer rode off the field, accompanied by the duke of Perth, lord Elcho, and a few horsemen; he crossed the water of Nairn and retired to the house of a gentleman in Anaharic, where he conferred with old Lord Lovat; then he dismissed his followers, and wandered about a wretched and solitary fugitive, among the isles and mountains for the space of five months, during which he underwent such a series of dangers, hardships and misery, as no other person ever outlived. His adventures strongly resembled those of Charles the Second after the fatal battle of Worcester. Exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of being apprehended, he was obliged to trust his life to the fidelity of fifty individuals, many of whom were in the lowest paths of life. They knew that a price of thirty thousand pounds was set upon his head; and that, by betraying him they should enjoy wealth and affluence: but they detested the thought of obtaining riches on such infamous terms, and administered to his necessities with the utmost fidelity, even at the hazard of their own destruction. In the course of these peregrinations he was more than once hemmed in by his pursuers, in such a manner as seemed to preclude all possibility of escaping: yet he was never abandoned by his hope and recollection: he still found some expedient that saved him from captivity and death; and through the whole course of his distresses, maintained the greatest equanimity and good humour. At length a privateer of St. Malo, hired by the younger Sheridan and some of his Irish adherents, arrived in Lochnonach; and on the twentieth day of September he embarked in the habit which he wore for a disguise.

Among the different royal families thrown down by their crimes and imbecility, few exhibit a more humiliating spectacle than the house of Stuart; neither ancient nor modern history presents the example of a line of princes so eminently unfortunate during a succession of ages. The calamities which overwhelmed the Bourbons, exemplary as they were, have been comprised in an exile of twenty-five years: but from

him from hill to dale, from rock to cavern, and from shore to shore.

Sometimes he lurked in caves and cottages, without attendants or any other support than the poorest peasant could supply: sometimes he was rowed in fishermen's boats from isle to isle among the Hebrides, and often in sight of his pursuers.

Now he was obliged to appear in woman's attire; then he was dis-

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James I. of Scotland, barbarously murdered at Perth, in 1437, down to the last of his descendants, with only the two exceptions of James I. of England, and Charles II., all the others perished by the executioner, or by violent and premature death, or in exile maintained by foreign contribution. The future life of the Pretender, after his defeat at Culloden, is deplorable in the extreme. The courage and fortitude he displayed in England seem to have forsaken him with a reverse of fortune, and the remainder of his days were spent in excess and debauchery. Being compelled to leave France, he retired to Florence; where he was seen by Sir Nathaniel Wraxall in 1779, overwhelmed with infirmities, the consequence of his irregular courses. The account which this writer gives of his appearance, may not be unacceptable to the reader: it exhibits Royalty in a pitiable plight when stripped of the "pomp and circumstance" by which it is supported.

"In 1779, Charles Edward exhibited to the world a very humiliating spectacle. At the Theatre, where he appeared almost every evening, he was led in by some of his domestics, who laid him down on a species of sofa in the back part of the box; while the Countess Albany, his consort, occupied the front seat during the whole performance. Count Alfieri, a man singularly eccentric in his mind, habits, and manners, her "*Cavaliero servante*," always attended on her in public, according to the established usages of society throughout Italy. As, for obvious reasons, English subjects could not be presented to a man who still laid claim to the British crown, no opportunity of distinctly seeing the Chevalier de St. George, offered itself, except across the theatre; and even there he lay concealed, as I have already observed, on account of his infirmities, rarely coming forward to view. Being desirous, nevertheless, to obtain a more accurate idea of his face and person than could be acquired at such a distance, I took my station one evening at the head of a private staircase, near the door by which, when the performance closed, he quitted the playhouse.

"Previous to my leaving England in 1777, his Majesty had been pleased at the application of Lord Robert Manners, who then commanded the third regiment of dragoon guards, to give me a Lieutenant's commission; and Lord Robert had allowed me to wear his uniform which I had on at the time. The present general Manners, now first equerry to the King, then a cornet in his father's regiment, dressed in the same uniform and actuated by a similar curiosity, accompanied me. As soon as the Chevalier appeared near enough to distinguish the English regimental, he instantly stopped, and gently shook off the two servants who accompanied him one on each side; and, taking off his hat, politely saluted us. He then passed on to his carriage, sustained by his two attendants, as he ascended the staircase.—Charles Edward's complexion was dark, and he manifestly bore the same family resemblance to his grandfather James II., that his Britannic Majesty's countenance presents to George I. or to the late King. On the occasion just related, he wore, besides the decoration of the Order of the Garter, a velvet great coat, which his infirm health rendered necessary, even in summer on coming out of the theatre; and a cocked hat, the sides of which were half drawn up with gold twist. His whole figure, paralytic and debilitated, presented the appearance of great bodily decay. The strength of his mind had likewise

guised as a travelling mountaineer, and wandered about among the woods and heaths, with a matted beard and squalid looks, exposed to hunger, thirst, and weariness, and in continual danger of falling into the hands of his enemies.

And his eye was hollow, his visage wan, and his constitution weakened by hunger and fatigue, till at length he was conveyed on-board, and in a thick fog escaped to France, where he was a fugitive and a wanderer all the days of his life.

And now it came to pass that Frederick, called the Prince of Wales, died, and there was great mourning through all the land because of his death.

Howbeit the king grieved not, neither shed he any tears because of his

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become extinct at this time; and with the decline of his intellectual powers, the suavity of his disposition forsaking him, he became irritable, morose, and intractable, particularly in his family. An unhappy propensity to wine, which he gratified to excess, while it enervated his system and rendered him frequently an object of pity or contempt when in public, divesting him of that dignity which otherwise would always have accompanied the representative of so many kings. His misfortunes, exile, and anomalous situation, probably induced him to have recourse to the grape for oblivion or temporary felicity. That melancholy indulgence extinguished the last hope which fortune ever tendered him of ascending the throne of England, justly forfeited by the tyranny and imbecile bigotry of James II."—*Memoirs of my Own Time, vol. i. p.* 300.

It is a fact perhaps worth mentioning, that the Duke de Choiseul, not deterred by the unfortunate expeditions in 1715, and 1745, determined in 1770 to make another attempt to restore the exiled family. For this purpose a private embassy was despatched to the Pretender to acquaint him with the design, and a meeting was appointed at Paris. At the appointed hour the Marshal de Broglio, and the minister repaired to an hotel to meet the Chevalier: they waited till one o'clock, and concluded some unforeseen accident had prevented his arrival. At this time a carriage entered the court, and soon after the Pretender made his appearance, but in such a state of intoxication, as neither to be fit for conversation nor business. He was immediately ordered to quit France, and seems very properly afterwards to have sunk into neglect and obscurity.

And now it came to pass that Frederick, commonly called Prince of Wales, died.] This "excellent prince," as he is sometimes called, died in 1750, in the forty-fifth year of his age, and was the father of the late king. He expired suddenly in the arms of Desnoyers, the celebrated dancing-master, who was near his bed-side engaged in playing on the violin for his amusement. Smollet says his death was in consequence of a cold caught in his garden at Kew, but this appears an error. His end was caused by an abscess, which formed from the blow of a cricket ball which he received while engaged in playing at that game on the lawn at Cliefden, a collection of matter having been produced which burst in his throat and suffocated him.

Howbeit the King grieved not neither shed he any tears because of his death.] The quarrel was about the settlement of the prince's income, and was kept up with great bitterness till the day of his death. The king proposed to allow him fifty-thousand a year

death: for there had been enmity between the prince and his father, and the king loved him not, because he had disobeyed his commandments and walked not in his ways.

But the prince had stolen away the hearts of the people by many fair promises; and he told them that when he ascended the throne of his father, they should become a great and powerful nation; that corruption and wickedness should be banished from the land: that there should be no more faction and animosities among them: that the names of whig and tory should be forgotten, and that they should hereafter live together as one people.

And they believed these sayings of the prince: howbeit some doubted that it would ever come to pass, and they said in their hearts,

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out of the civil list, and he claimed double that sum. A motion was made by the prince's friends in the lower house, for an address to his Majesty, beseeching him to grant the prince one hundred thousand pounds. It was vigorously opposed by the minister, which tended still more to widen the breach betwixt the royal parties. The king was so incensed at what he conceived the prince's undutiful behaviour, that he ordered the Lord Chamberlain to signify in the Gazette, that no person who visited him should be admitted into the court at St. James's; and he was divested of other external marks of royalty. During the last illness of his Royal Highness, he was never visited by his Majesty. On the evening of his decease, the 20th of March, George II. had repaired, according to his usual custom, to the apartments of Lady Yarmouth, situated on the ground-floor at St. James's, where a party of distinction generally assembled. The king had just sat down to play, and was engaged at cards, when a page arrived from Leicester-house bringing information that his son was no more. He received the intelligence without testifying either emotion or surprise. Then rising, he crossed the room to Lady Yarmouth's table, who was likewise occupied at play, and leaning over her chair, said to her, in German, in a low tone of voice, "Fritz is dode," *Freddy is dead.** This was the only feeling excited by this melancholy event, and exhibits a singular instance of royal insensibility.

And they believed these sayings of the Prince.] His Royal Highness had made a declaration to the chiefs of the opposition, of the leading principles which should guide his conduct on his accession to the throne. Among other things promised by the prince, were first, to abolish all distinction of parties, and admit indiscriminately to place and emolument, individuals recommended by their virtues and attachment to the constitution. Secondly, he proposed to support a bill to exclude from the House of Commons, all military officers under the rank of colonel, all naval officers under the degree of rear-admiral. Thirdly, he promised to introduce a rigorous inquiry into the abuses of public offices. Fourthly, a standing army was to be replaced by a numerous and effective militia. Lastly, the prince promised that no administration should have his support without previously obtaining these points in behalf of the people.

These professions it must be admitted were highly praiseworthy, but whether they would have been realized must be left to conjecture. A more recent example has

* Wraxall's Memoirs.—p. 118.

that, when the prince is king over us, he will follow the example of his forefathers and walk in their ways.

Now George was a mighty warrior, and he led on his armies himself, and he fought with the French, and overthrew them at the battle of Dettingen.

Moreover his captains were valiant, and they discomfited the enemies of the king in the east and the west, by land and by sea, in many battles; and the wealth of the country increased, and its fame extended to all parts of the earth.

Now the rest of the acts of king George, the alliances that he made, the debts that he contracted, the concubines that he kept, the projects that he formed, and all the foolish things that he did, behold they are written in the books of the chronicles of the Kings of England.

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made men distrustful of the early declarations of princes, and they are looked on like the professions of "*patriots*" out of place. Whether, however, the prince was sincere or not, his promises rendered him very popular with the nation, and historians have been lavish in his praise. He is described as possessing almost every amiable quality, a munificent patron of the arts, an affectionate husband, and a prince whose reign would have been a full exemplification of the magnificent idea of a "*patriot king*." All this however, is very foolish and ridiculous. The truth is, he was a man of weak intellects, who, having been thwarted in his inclinations by his father, devoted himself, in conjunction with others whose motives were as little honourable as his own, to a factious opposition to his measures. Even his admirers allow that he was deficient in energy, steadiness, and penetration of character. Nor was economy a virtue he displayed, for at his death he had contracted enormous debts which were never discharged. The details given by Doddington in his "*Diary*" of the intrigues and amusements at Leicester House are not very creditable, either to his principles or understanding The party there were occupied in forming schemes of future administrations, fixing the civil list, and dividing in imagination the loaves and fishes of the state on the king's death. It is related by this writer, that the prince went three times in thirteen months to have his fortune told. In returning from one of these magical visits, the party, composed of the prince, his wife, and Doddington, supped with Mrs. Cannon, the princess's midwife. He used to go disguised to Hockley in the Hole to witness bull-baiting. In these rambles he was generally accompanied by Lord Middlesex, whom his father had disowned for extravagance, or Lord John Sackville. His favourite mistress was Lady Archibald Hamilton. In order to be near him she resided in Pall Mall, near to Carlton-House; the prince having allowed her to construct a drawing-room, the windows of which commanded a view over the gardens of that palace, and with which her house had a private communication.

But enough of these anecdotes. We leave the reader to reconcile, if he can, these facts with the *amiable* qualities of the prince, his *conjugal* virtues, and *constitutional* principles. Perhaps the only just cause of regret at the premature death of this embryo patriot prince, may be found in the *virtues* displayed by his successor.

And in those days there arose a man called JOHN WESLEY; and behold he was possessed with the demon of enthusiasm.

And in those days there arose a man called John Wesley.]—John Wesley, the founder of the Methodists, was the second son of Samuel Wesley, a minister of the established church. His father held the livings of Epworth and Wrootc, in Lincolnshire; he was born on the 17th of June, 1703, at Epworth, which is a market town, containing in its parish about two thousand inhabitants. With the exception of his life being endangered by fire, no other event distinguished the infancy of young Wesley. Mr. SOUTHEY gives a minute account of some remarkable noises and appearances being heard and seen at the parsonage of Epworth; but as the story is evidently intended for the Methodists only, it is unnecessary to insert it in this place. Mr. Wesley received his first education at the Charter-house, where he suffered severely from the absurd tyranny the elder boys were permitted to exercise. The boys of the higher forms were then in the practice of taking their portion of the meat from the younger ones, by the law of the strongest, and during a great part of the time that Wesley remained there, a small daily portion of bread was his only food. This practice, which used to be very general in English schools, is now in part at least abolished; a system better designed for cultivating the worst dispositions in human nature can hardly be imagined.

At the age of seventeen, Wesley was removed from the Charter-house, to Christ Church, Oxford, where he soon attracted notice by his retired habits and those holy and mistaken notions which distinguished his future life. In conjunction with his brother, Charles, he succeeded in collecting round him a few students of the same sombre complexion. They excited much derision by their peculiar manners; and were called Bible-bigots, Bible-moths, the Holy or the Godly Club. They endeavoured to follow the example of the primitive Christians, by practising various austerities, and refusing to partake of those gifts which God had created for the happiness of his creatures. Mr. Morgan, one of the earliest members of the society, from rigorous fasting, actually threw himself into a decline, which carried him off. Their regular fasting days were Wednesdays and Fridays. They appointed regular times for what they called self-examination; the object of which was the full disclosure of their most secret thoughts. The ultimate object of these peculiarities was to recover the *image of God.*

Besides Wesley, there were two other members of the *Godly Club*, who attained great celebrity. James Hervey was one, author of the *Meditations*, a book which has been translated into most European languages, and for the shallowness of its matter, its superficial sentimentality, and its tinsel style, as much as for its devotional spirit, has become singularly popular. Whitefield, was the other, a man so eminently connected with the growth of Methodism, that a short notice of him may not be unacceptable.

He was born at the Bell Inn, in the city of Gloucester, at the close of the year 1714. He describes himself as froward from his mother's womb; so brutish as to hate instruction; stealing from his mother's pocket, and frequently appropriating to his own use the money that he took in the house. "If I trace myself," says he, "from my cradle to my manhood, I can see nothing in me, but a fitness to be damned." He received the rudiments of education at a Grammar school; where his talents for elocution, which afterwards made him so great a performer in the pulpit, were in danger of receiving a theatrical direction. The boys were fond of acting plays; the master "seeing how their vein ran," encouraged it, and composed a dramatic piece himself, which they represented before the corporation, and in which Whitefield enacted a woman's part in girl's clothes. The remembrance of this, he says, had often covered him with confusion of face, and he hoped it would do so to

And John felt himself called by the Holy Spirit, to go forth and preach among the people, and he went among them, and he cried with a loud voice, Woe, woe, woe!

And John, that he might become a strange spectacle, suffered his hair to grow, he went bare-legged, and he fasted and prayed, and wrestled with the Lord daily.

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the end of his life. Before he was fifteen, he persuaded his mother to take him from school, saying, that more learning would only spoil him for a tradesman; and he might have added, a methodist preacher also. Her own circumstances indeed were by this time so much on the decline, that his menial services were required: he began occasionally to assist her in the public house, till at length he "put on his apron and his snuffers, washed mops, cleaned rooms, and became a professed and common drawer." *Southey's Life of Wesley*, p. 53.

By some accidents too unimportant to mention, Whitefield obtained a servitor's place in Pembroke College. Before he went to Oxford, he had heard of the young men there, who "lived by rule and method," and were therefore called Methodists. Being of kindred feelings, his heart yearned to be acquainted with them, but a sense of his inferior condition long kept him at a distance. At length the object of his desires was effected, and ultimately he became Wesley's zealous coadjutor.

And John felt himself called by the Holy Spirit.]—Wesley's first call, as it is technically termed, arose from the perusal of Jeremy Taylor's *Rules of Holy Living and Dying*. After perusing that splendid work, he says: "Instantly I resolved to dedicate all my life to God,—all my thoughts, words, and actions, being thoroughly convinced there was *no medium*; but that every part of my life, (not some only) must either be a sacrifice to God or myself,—that is in effect to the devil." The throes of the *new birth* in Whitefield were far more awful. He describes himself as having all sensible comforts withdrawn from him, overwhelmed with a horrible fearfulness and dread; all power of thinking taken away; his memory gone, his whole soul barren and dry, and his sensations as he imagined, like those of a man locked up in armour. "Whenever I knelt down" he says, "I felt great pressures both on soul and body; and have often prayed under the weight of them, till the sweat came through. God only knows how many nights I have lain upon my bed groaning under what I felt. Whole days and weeks have I spent in laying prostrate on the ground in silent or vocal prayer." He then began to practise austerities, such as the Romish superstition encourages: he chose the worst food, affected mean apparel, and wore woollen gloves, a patched gown and dirty shoes, as visible signs of humility; he would kneel under the trees in Christ Church walk, in silent prayer, shivering with cold, till the great bell summoned him to his college for the night: he exposed himself to cold in the morning till his hands were quite black: he kept Lent so strictly, that, except on Saturdays and Sundays, his only food was coarse bread and sage tea without sugar. The end of these miserable follies and delusions was, that he was under a physician for several weeks, and he had scarcely strength enough left to creep up stairs. These mortifications however divested him of the *carnal* man, and he became a pure spirit. His communion with his Maker in the garden is too blasphemous a conceit for insertion.

And John—suffered his hair to grow.]—This he did, as he said, for the purpose of economy, and that the money which otherwise would be given to the hair-dresser might be bestowed on the poor. His mother, thinking it injured his health, prevailed upon him to have part of it cut off. It was in America where he threw aside his shoes and stockings and went bare-legged. *Southey's Life*, p. 95.

And many were smitten with his doctrines, and believed in him; and he taught his followers unless they became as insane people they could not enter into the kingdom of heaven.

And by faith and prayer he wrought many miracles, casting out devils, healing the sick, both man and beast, and making the lame to walk.

And these things were done that the sayings of the prophets might be fulfilled; namely, that delusion, credulity, and knavery will be found in all ages.

And many were smitten with his doctrines—unless they became as insane people.] Alluding, as is supposed, to the *new birth*, when the subject is received into a state of grace: it forms the most critical moment in the history of a Methodist, and is generally preceded by the most horrible perturbation of mind. Mr. Southey has given several instances of the madness which prevails during this period: the case of Haines is one. This poor creature was afraid to go to bed lest the devil should fetch him away before morning. He was terrified when asleep; sometimes dreaming that many devils were in the room ready to take him away; sometimes that the world was at an end. At other times he thought he saw the world on fire and the wicked burning therein, himself among them. "I was often," says he, "on the point of destroying myself, and was stopped, I know not how. Then did I weep bitterly: I moaned like a dove, I chattered like a swallow." In the excess of his frenzy, having a stick in his hand, he threw it towards heaven against God, with the utmost enmity; and he says that this act was followed by what he supposed to be a supernatural appearance: that, immediately he saw, in the clear sky, a creature like a swan, but much larger, part black, and part brown, which flew at him, went just over his head, and, lighting on the ground, at about forty yards distance, stood staring upon him like a stuck pig. *Southey's Life of Wesley*, v. ii. p. 124. Of the madness of this fellow, Wesley published an account in his Magazine, entitled, "A short Account of *God's Dealings* with Mr. John Haime." Satan has so much to do with the narrative, Mr. Southey thinks the title a misnomer.

And by faith and prayer he wrought many miracles] Wesley relates many cures wrought by faith and prayer, which he considered and represented as perfectly miraculous. By thinking strongly on a text of scripture, he shook off instantaneously, a fever which had hung upon him for some days, and was in a moment freed from all pain and restored to his former strength. He visited a believer at night, who was expected not to live till next morning: the man was speechless and senseless, and his pulse gone. Wesley joined a few others in prayer, and before they had done his senses and speech returned. So, when his own teeth ached, he prayed and the pain left him. And this faith was so strong, that it sufficed sometimes to cure not himself only but his horse also. "My horse," he says, "was so exceedingly lame, that I was afraid I must have lain by. We could not discern what it was that was amiss, and yet he would scarcely set his foot to the ground. By riding thus seven miles I was thoroughly tired, and my head ached more than it had done for some months. What I here aver is the naked fact: let every man account for it as he sees good. I then thought, cannot God heal either man or beast, by any means or without any!" Immediately my weariness and head ache ceased, and my horse's lameness in the same instant!" *He that hath ears let him hear!*

And John's fame extended to all parts of the earth; his followers marvellously increased; and he divided them into bands and classes; and they founded schools and consecrated bishops; and in all things became a distinct people.

And he exhorted them to refrain from all costly apparel, to wear no fine linen, nor rings, nor laces, nor ruffles, nor necklaces; nor to clothe their bodies in glaring colours, or any thing that was gay, glistening, and showy: for these were an abomination unto the Lord, and partook of the carnal man.

And he likewise declaimed against riches, and exhorted those who gained much to give it to the poor; for it was hard for a rich man to enter the kingdom of heaven.

And his disciples were taught to remain single for the kingdom of heaven's sake: howbeit the spirit having tempted him to take a wife, he forgot all that he had said, and declared forbidding to marry to be the doctrine of devils.

And the wife he took to his bosom tormented him greatly; she was filled with the demon of jealousy, and believed that her husband was loved of divers women.

And Wesley was a brand snatched from the burning, a mighty preacher, wise in his own conceit, who instructed his followers in all

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And the wife he took to his bosom tormented him greatly.] His wife was a thorough Xantippe, and moreover outrageously jealous. It is said she frequently travelled a hundred miles for the purpose of watching from a window, who was in the carriage with him when he entered a town. She searched his pockets, opened his letters, put his letters and papers into the hands of his enemies, in hopes that they might be made use of to blast his character; and sometimes laid violent hands upon him, and tore his hair. She frequently left his house, and upon his earnest entreaties returned again; till after having thus disquieted twenty years of his life, she seized on part of his journals and other papers, which were never restored, and departed, leaving word that she never intended to return. Thus summarily was a most injudicious marriage dissolved. Mrs. Wesley lived ten years after the separation, and is described in her epitaph, as a woman of exemplary piety, a tender parent, and a sincere friend; the tombstone says nothing of her *conjugal* virtues

And Wesley was a brand snatched from the burning—even the art of curing diseases.] Wesley thought there was no harm in quacking for the body as well as the soul. He published a book, under the title of "*Primitive Physic*, or an easy and natural Method of curing Diseases." It was extensively circulated, and from the rash and absurd receipts it gives, in many cases, must have done much mischief. For *siphylis*, he pre-

kinds of knowledge, even in the art of curing diseases and training up children.

Howbeit he was sometimes doubtful in his own mind, whether his preachings were from God or the devil.

And George reigned over England thirty and four years, and he died; and George his grandson reigned in his stead.

And there was great mourning in the land because of the king's death, and many foolish things were said of his name: howbeit as they were false and ridiculous, they are now forgotten, and men only think of the deeds of his successor.

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scribes an ounce of quicksilver every morning, and for the twisting of the intestines, quicksilver, ounce by ounce, to the amount of one, two, or three pounds! Toasted cheese is recommended for a cut; and for a rupture in children, "boil a spoonful of eggshells, dried in an oven and powdered, in a pint of milk, and feed the child constantly with bread boiled in this milk!"

His advice for the treatment of children is infamous. "Whatever pains it costs," he says, "break the will, if you would not damn the child. Let a child from a year old be taught to fear the rod and to cry softly; from that age make him do as he is bid, if you whip ten times running to effect it. If you spare the rod you spoil the child. If you do not conquer, you ruin him." Enough of this: nothing can show more his ignorance. Wesley never had any children.

Howbeit he was sometimes doubtful in his own mind.] This is certainly a fact. In one of his sermons, he relates a curious dialogue with the arch enemy. "The devil," said he, "once infused into my mind a temptation that, perhaps, I did not believe what I was preaching. 'Well then,' said I, 'I will preach it till I do.' But the devil suggested, 'what if it should not be true?' 'Still,' I replied, 'I will preach it, because whether true or not it must be pleasing to God, by preparing men better for another world.' 'But what if there should be no other world?' rejoined the enemy. 'I will go on preaching it,' said I, 'because it is the way to make them better and happier in this.'" *Southey's Life of Wesley*, v. ii. p. 411.

And there was great mourning in the land because of the King's death.] Smollett, a witness of this national folly, says, "A thousand pens were drawn to paint the beauties and sublimity of his character, in poetry as well as prose. They extolled him above Alexander in courage and heroism, above Augustus in liberality, Titus in clemency, Antoninus in piety and benevolence, Solomon in wisdom, and St. Edward in devotion. Such hyperbolical eulogiums served only to throw ridicule on a character which was otherwise respectable. The two universities vied with each other in lamenting his death; and each published a huge collection of elegies on the subject: nor did they fail to exalt his praise, with the warmest expressions of regret, in the compliments of condolence and congratulation which they presented to his successor." The example of the universities was followed by other corporations in the kingdom; and the same fulsome and extravagant panegyrics appear to have been offered up to his memory, by the weak and servile, which occurred on the demise of the late king.

APPLICATION.

GEORGE II. died on the 25th day of October, 1760, without any previous disorder, at his palace, at Kensington. He had risen at his usual hour, drank his choco-

late, and inquired about the wind, as anxious for the arrival of the foreign mails; then he opened the window of his apartment, and perceiving the weather was serene, declared he would walk in the garden. In a few minutes after this declaration, while alone in his chamber, he fell down upon the floor; the noise of the fall brought his attendants into the room, who lifted him on the bed, when he desired, in a faint voice, that the Princess Amelia might be called; but before she could reach the apartments he had expired. An attempt was made to bleed him, but without effect; and indeed his malady was far beyond the reach of art: for, when the cavity of the thorax or chest was opened, the right ventricle of the heart was found actually ruptured, and a great quantity of blood discharged through the aperture into the surrounding pericordium; so that he must have died instantaneously in consequence of the effusion.

He died at the age of seventy-seven, after a long reign of thirty-four years, distinguished by a variety of important events, and chequered with a vicissitude of character and fortune. In his person he was rather lower than the middle size, well shaped, erect, with eyes remarkably prominent, a high nose and fair complexion. In his disposition he was hasty, prone to anger, especially in his youth, yet soon appeased; otherwise mild, moderate, and humane. He was temperate in his way of living, regular, and extremely methodical. He was fond of military pomp and parade, and personally brave. He loved war as a soldier, and studied it as a science; but without making any great proficiency. The extent of his understanding and the splendour of his virtues are rather problematical; nor is there much room to expatiate on his munificence and liberality; his generous regard to genius and learning; his royal protection and encouragement of those arts by which a nation is benefited and adorned. With respect to his government, it seldom deviated from the institutions of law; or encroached upon private property; or interfered with the common administration of justice. The circumstances that chiefly marked his public conduct, were a predilection for his native country, and a close attention to German politics: points and principles to which he adhered with the most invincible obstinacy, and in this he was unfortunately seconded by a succession of venal ministers, who, in defiance of their own judgment, devoted soul and body to the gratification of a passion prejudicial to the true interests of their country.

Queen Caroline, the wife of this Prince, is described as a woman of very superior attainments, uncommon sagacity, and a pattern of conjugal virtue. By her address and judicious management down to the time of her decease, in 1737, she maintained a great ascendancy over her husband, and it is ascribed to her agency, that Walpole was enabled to manage matters so adroitly. It is related that, by watchwords and other signs, she kept up a secret understanding with the minister, while the King was present in his drawing-room. According to the King's temper, frame of mind, or practicability on the points Walpole wished to carry, the Queen signified to him to proceed, stand still, or retrograde on that particular day.* This communication was so well managed, that it was imperceptible even to the bystanders.

The Queen's favorite study was theology. An impartial inquiry into the foundations of the Christian faith had tended rather to unsettle than confirm her faith in its divine origin. She was the correspondent of Leibnitz, a German philosopher, the admirer and patron of the celebrated Whiston, a man who displayed a virtue rarely found in his profession, by renouncing all prospect of ecclesiastical emolument rather than subscribe to articles of faith he could not believe. In her last moments, though urged by the bishops, she declined receiving the sacrament. She was, however, a regular observer of religious ceremonies, prayers were repeated every morning in an outer room while she dressed. In this outer room hung a naked Venus, about which Mr. Walpole, in his "*Reminiscencies*," relates an anecdote. He says, the Queen or-

* Wraxall's Memoirs, p. 426.

dered Mrs Selwyn, the bed-chamber woman in waiting, to bid the chaplain, Dr. Madox, afterwards bishop of Gloucester, to begin the service. He said archly, "And a very pretty altar-piece is here, madam!" Queen Anne, who was very orthodox, had the same custom; and ordering the door to be shut while she shifted, the chaplain stopped. The Queen sent to ask why he did not proceed? He replied "He would not whistle the Word of God through the key-hole." It is curious to observe with what gravity priests, princes, and the great, treat *sacred subjects* in the presence of the multitude, while, in private, they form a standing jest and unceasing theme of ridicule.

Like his predecessors, George II. had several mistresses, but he always preferred the Queen to any other woman; and when discoursing on the personal charms of the fair, he always referred to her Majesty as the most perfect model of female beauty. Among the King's chief favourites is reckoned Mrs. Howard, afterwards Duchess of Suffolk. This lady, with her husband, being in narrow circumstances, had gone over to Germany, with a view of making their court to George I. while elector of Hanover. She succeeded in insinuating herself into the good graces of George II. and became his mistress. While under royal protection, Mr. Howard went to St. James's palace, publicly to demand his wife in the presence of the guards. Being thrust out, he sent a letter to her by the Archbishop of Canterbury, who conveyed the summons to the Queen, who had the malicious pleasure of delivering the epistle to her rival. During the summer a negotiation commenced, and this indulgent husband sold his wife and his own "noisy honour" for a pension of £1200 a year.—*Reminiscences*, p. 302.

We shall now proceed to recapitulate a few of the most important events, not yet noticed, in the history of this long reign.

In our remarks on Sir Robert Walpole, we noticed his attack on the freedom of the press, by subjecting all dramatic compositions to the inspection of the lord chamberlain. It may be well to notice this fact a little more in detail; because the minister had recourse to similar hypocritical pretexts—blasphemy, sedition, and immorality—made use of at the present day for abridging the freedom of discussion. The errors of Walpole's conduct, his systematic corruption, and the blemishes of his administration had been exposed and ridiculed not only in political periodical writings, but in a succession of theatrical pieces, which met with uncommon success. He either wanted judgment to distinguish men of genius or could find none that would engage in his service: he, therefore, employed a set of wretched hacks void of character, understanding, and ingenuity. They undertook the defence of his ministry; but instead of justifying his conduct, they exposed it to additional ridicule and contempt, and he saw himself in danger of being despised by the whole nation. He resolved, the first opportunity, to choke those channels of censure and information. The manager of a playhouse communicated to him a manuscript farce, entitled the *Golden Rump*, which was fraught with treason and the most extravagant abuse upon the government. The performance was introduced into the House of Commons. The minister descanted on the insolence, the immorality, and sedition which had been lately propagated. A bill was brought in to limit the number of playhouses, and to compel all dramatic writers to take out a licence before any production could appear on the stage. Notwithstanding a vigorous opposition, the bill passed rapidly through both houses, and obtained the royal sanction. It is thought that the farce, which was made the foundation of this extraordinary measure, was the composition of Walpole or some of his creatures.

Another case connected with the freedom of the Press in this reign deserves recording. Mr. Murray, a gentleman of spirit and independence, having made some offensive reflections on the House of Commons, was committed to Newgate for a pretended breach of privilege. A pamphlet appeared, entitled "The Case of the Hon. Alexander Murray, Esquire, in an Appeal to the People of Great Britain." It was written with great animation, and contained some merited animadversions on the proceedings of the Commons. The violent members took fire, and the flame extended itself to the majority. The House resolved that it was a false, scandalous, and ma-

licious libel; and an address was voted to the King, desiring that his Majesty would be graciously pleased to give directions to his Attorney-General to prosecute the author, printer, and publishers of the said scandalous libel. Directions were accordingly given for the purpose, and a prosecution commenced against the publisher, who had some reason to be dismayed, considering he had to encounter the whole weight of influence of the crown and legislature. Nevertheless, when the cause was tried before the lord chief justice, a jury of honest Englishmen, citizens of London, boldly asserted their privilege of judging the law as well as the fact, and with a truly noble spirit of independence acquitted the defendant. "They considered," says Smollett "the pamphlet an appeal against oppression; and convinced that the contents were *true*, they could not, in conscience, adjudge it a *false* libel, even though it had been so declared by one branch of the legislature." This may be considered the first triumph of common sense against the pernicious doctrine that truth is a libel.

Having already given some account, when speaking of Sir Robert Walpole, of the corruption prevailing in the House of Commons, I shall only add a fact or two more related by Dr. King, in his Anecdotes of his Own Time. Sir Robert wanted to carry a question in the House to which he knew there would be great opposition, and which was disliked by some of his own party. As he was passing through the Court of Requests he met a member of the contrary party, whose avarice he knew would not refuse a large bribe. He took him aside, and said, Such a question comes on to-day, give me your vote, and here is a bank bill of £200. The member made him this answer, "Sir Robert, you have lately served some of my particular friends, and when my wife was last at court the king was very gracious to her, which must have happened at your instance, I should therefore think myself very ungrateful *(putting the bank bill in his pocket)* if I were to refuse the favour you are now pleased to ask me."

The same writer relates another anecdote of the same profligate minister. He says, "Mr. W. Leveson, my Lord Gower's brother, told me that he happened to be in the House of Lords, standing near Sir R. Walpole, when there was a warm debate concerning some ministerial measure. In the midst of the debate, says Sir R. to him, 'You see with what zeal and vehemence these gentlemen oppose, and yet I know the price of every man in the house except three, and your brother is one of them.' Sir Robert lived long enough to know that my Lord Gower had his price as well as the rest, and was unworthy of forming the triumvirate."—*King's Anecdotes of his Own Time*, p. 44.

The year 1736, was remarkable for a singular instance of popular justice at Edinburgh. Captain Porteus, who commanded the guard paid by that city, a man of brutal disposition and abandoned morals, had, at the execution of a smuggler, been provoked by some insults from the populace, to order his men, without using the previous formalities of the law, to fire among the crowd; by which rash order several innocent persons lost their lives. Porteus was tried for murder, convicted, and received sentence of death, but the crown thought proper to indulge him with a reprieve. The people of Edinburgh resented this lenity shown to a criminal, who was the object of their detestation. They remembered that divers pardons had been granted to military delinquents in that country, who had been condemned by legal trial. They seemed to think these were encouragements: fired by national jealousy, and stimulated by the relations and friends of those who had been barbarously murdered, they resolved to wreak their vengeance on the author of that tragedy, by depriving him of life on the day which the judges had fixed for his execution. Thus determined, they assembled in different bodies, about ten o'clock at night. They blocked up the gates of the city to prevent the admission of the troops, who were quartered in the suburbs. They surprised and disarmed the town guards; broke open the prison doors; dragged Porteus from thence; and leaving him hanging by the neck on a dyer's pole, quietly dispersed to their habitations. A rigorous inquiry was instituted without success, to discover the authors of this exploit. We could relate a similar outrage to that of Porteus, perpetrated in our time, but as we should not have the pleasure of relating a similar punishment inflicted on its authors, we forbear to mention it.

George the Second.

In 1753, an act passed both Houses and received the royal assent, entitled "An Act to permit persons professing the Jewish Religion to be naturalized by Parliament, and for other purposes therein mentioned." It is observable that the same arguments were adduced against this salutary measure which are now adduced against *Catholic Emancipation*. An ignorant petition of the Common Council of the City of London expressed, that if the bill passed into a law, it would tend greatly to *dishonour* the Christian religion. What a libel on our holy faith, to affirm that charity to all men is incompatible with its precepts! Some of the members prognosticated that the Jews would multiply so much in number, engross such wealth, and acquire so great power, that their persons would be revered, their customs imitated, and Judaism become the fashionable religion of the English. Finally, they affirmed that such an act was flying directly in the face of the prophecy, which declares that the Jews shall be a scattered people, until they shall be converted from their infidelity, and gathered together unto the land of their forefathers. The legislature had sufficient liberality and discernment to pass the bill in spite of these frivolous arguments and chimerical apprehensions. Unfortunately such an outcry was raised among the bigoted and ignorant part of the nation, that next session they thought prudent to retrace their steps, and the law was repealed. The reverend bench of bishops, with a laudable spirit of liberality and Christian philanthrophy, approved of the indulgence granted to their Hebrew brethren, but with the same passive obedience to the suggestion of the minister they also voted for its repeal.

The winter of 1740, was distinguished by an uncommonly severe frost, which began at Christmas and continued till the latter end of February. The river Thames was covered with such a crust of ice, that a multitude of people dwelt upon it in tents; and a great number of booths were erected for the entertainment of the populace. The navigation was entirely stopped; the watermen and fishermen were disabled from earning a livelihood; the fruits of the earth were destroyed by the cold, which was so extreme that many persons were chilled to death: and this calamity was the more deeply felt as the price of fuel advanced in proportion to the severity and continuance of the frost. The price of all sorts of provisions rose almost to a dearth, even water was sold in the streets of London.

Perhaps no reign in the English annals is so remarkable for the number of strange and unnatural crimes which were perpetrated. The passions of men appear to have been restrained neither by law, nature, nor humanity. An indulgent parent was poisoned by his only daughter, on whom, besides other marks of affection, he had bestowed a liberal education, which greatly aggravated the enormity of her crime. Another young woman was concerned in the assassination of her uncle, who had been her constant benefactor and sole guardian. A poor old woman, having from the ignorance and superstition of her neighbours incurred the suspicion of sorcery and witchcraft, was murdered in Herefordshire by the populace, with all the wantonness of barbarity. Rape and murder were perpetrated on an unfortunate woman in the neighbourhood of London, and an innocent man suffered death for this complicated outrage, while the real criminals assisted at his execution, heard him appeal to heaven for his innocence, and in the character of friends embraced him while he stood on the brink of eternity. An old man, seventy years of age, who had debauched his own sister and murdered their incestuous offspring, was sentenced to be hung on the evidence of his brother. This horrible wretch met his fate with great composure, and died apparently without any kind of compunction. We pass over the well-known crimes of Eugene, Aram, and Lord Ferrers, the judicial sacrifice of Admiral Byng to ministerial imbecility, as facts sufficiently known, and conclude this enumeration of criminal phenomena by the relation of a singular suicide.

Richard Smith, a bookbinder, and prisoner for debt in the liberties of the King's Bench, persuaded his wife to follow his example in making away with herself, after they had murdered their only child. This wretched pair were found hanging in their bedchamber, about a yard distance from each other; and in a separate apart-

ment the child lay dead in the cradle. A paper was found subscribed by the husband and wife, containing the reasons which induced them to act such a tragedy on themselves and offspring. This document was altogether surprising for the calm resolution, the good-humour, and the propriety with which it was written. They declared that they withdrew themselves from poverty and rags; evils that through a train of unlucky accidents had become inevitable. They appealed to their neighbours for the industry with which they had endeavoured to earn a livelihood. They justified the murder of their child, by saying, it was less cruel to take her with them, than to leave her friendless in the world exposed to ignorance and misery. They professed their belief and confidence in an Almighty God, the fountain of goodness and beneficence, who could not possibly take delight in the misery of his creatures; they therefore resigned their lives up to him without any terrible apprehensions; submitting themselves to those ways which in his goodness he should appoint after death. These unfortunate suicides had always been industrious and frugal, invincibly honest, and remarkable for conjugal affection.

The commerce of Great Britain continued to increase during the whole course of this reign; but this increase was not the effect of extraordinary encouragement. On the contrary, the necessities of government, the growing expenses of the nation, and the continual augmentation of the public debt, obliged the legislature to hamper trade with grievous imposts: its increase therefore must be ascribed to the natural progress of industry, skill, and adventure. War, which generally impedes the traffic of nations, had opened new sources to the merchants of Great Britain. The superiority of her naval power had crushed the navigation of France, her great rival in commerce, so that she now supplied, on her own terms, all those foreign markets, at which, in a time of peace, she was undersold by that dangerous competitor. Thus her trade was augmented to a surprising pitch; but unfortunately, from the vices of her government, the wealth she acquired was wasted in unceasing, unprofitable, and devastating wars.

The powers of the human mind were freely and fully exercised in this reign. Considerable progress was made in mathematics and philosophy by divers individuals; among whom are numbered Sanderson, Bradley, Maclaurin, Smith, and the two Simpsons. Natural philosophy became a general study, and the curious phenomena of electricity began to excite attention. The study of alchemy was exploded, and chemistry began to be applied to its legitimate objects—arts, agriculture, and manufactures.

Though the age was not remarkable for the appearance of any extraordinary genius, yet there were many writers of eminence and ability: Young still survived, a venerable monument of poetical genius; Thomson, the poet of the Seasons, excelled in describing the beauties of nature; Akenside and Armstrong excelled in didactic poetry; Glover in his Leonidas aspired to the dignity of the epic; the genius of Cervantes was transfused into the novels of Fielding, who painted the characters and ridiculed the follies of life with equal strength, humour, and propriety. The field of history was cultivated by Hume, Robertson, and Smollett; but the fame of the latter must rest upon his inimitable novels—Roderick Random, Humphrey Clinker, and Peregrine Pickle. Robertson is eminent for his learning and elegance. Hume, penetrating, ingenious, and comprehensive, abating his aristocratical prejudices, must be considered the first of historians and philosophers. Johnson was inferior to none in classical learning, as a philologist and essayist, but was too bigoted, prejudiced, and superstitious, to merit the praise of a philosopher, or man of enlarged views. Music became a fashionable study, and its professors were much patronized. Private concerts were formed in every corner of the metropolis. The compositions of Handel were universally admired. Painting, which had hitherto been little cultivated in England, now produced some artists of extraordinary merit. Hogarth excelled all the world in exhibiting the scenes of ordinary life in humour, character, and expression. Reynolds and Ramsey principally excelled as portrait painters. Wootton, Seymour, and Smith excelled in landscape.

We shall conclude the recapitulation of this reign by mentioning the King's descendants. George II. by his queen, Caroline, had two sons and five daughters, who attained the age of maturity. Frederick, Prince of Wales, father of the late king, and whose death and character we have already noticed; William, Duke of Cumberland; Anne, the Princess Royal, married to the Prince of Orange; Mary, Landgraviate of Hesse Cassel; Louisa, Queen of Denmark; Amelia and Caroline, who were never married.

XXXV.—GEORGE III.

AND George was twenty and two years old when he began to reign, and he reigned over England fifty and nine years, and his mother's name was Augusta Saxe Gotha.

And he mounted the throne in power and great glory, and the happiness and prosperity of England promised to continue for many ages.

All the king's counsellors were wise, his captains valiant, and his

And he mounted the throne in power and great glory.] An eloquent historian thus commences the reign of George III.: "In tracing the long series of royal descents which has taken place in this island, since the foundation of the English monarchy, it will be difficult, perhaps impossible, to name any prince who has succeeded to the crown, under circumstances of greater and more signal advantage, than the present sovereign. At the head of a firm, vigilant, and popular administration, was placed a minister, illustrious by the splendour of his talents and the magnanimity of his conduct; under whose superior ascendant, party spirit and parliamentary opposition seemed extinguished. Great Britain, in conjunction with her numerous colonies and dependencies, exhibited to the world a grand political association, actuated by one common interest, and united, amidst a thousand diversities of opinion, in the sacred bonds of duty and affection. That fatal predilection for the claims of the exiled house of Stuart, formerly so prevalent, and which had rendered the task of government so difficult in preceding reigns, was now no more. Notwithstanding the long continuance of a foreign war, the most complicated and extensive in which Great Britain had ever been engaged, the internal state of the kingdom was not only perfectly tranquil, but in the highest degree flourishing and prosperous. The vast increase of commerce and manufactures, enabled her to support the immense expense incurred in the prosecution of it, with a facility and even alacrity altogether unprecedented and astonishing; and her more recent operations had, in every part of the globe, been attended with the most brilliant and fascinating success."—*Belsham's Great Britain*, vol. v. p 1.

The state of the country, at the commencement and conclusion of this reign, would exhibit a singular contrast: the comparison must be left to a future occasion.

fleets victorious in every sea. The fame of his arms had extended to all parts of the earth, in the east and the west, Europe, Asia, and America had experienced the prowess of his armies, and the wisdom of his ministers.

And the names of the King's chief counsellors were Newcastle and Fox, Pitt, Grenville, Northington, Devonshire, Anson, and Holdernesse, all men of mighty name, famous for wisdom and eloquence corruption and cabal.

And the names of the King's chief counsellors were Newcastle and Fox.] The duke of Newcastle was the ostensible head of the administration. He was considered the leader of the Whig party, and during a period of forty-three years had filled a high situation in the court and the cabinet. In his temper he was fretful, capricious, and jealous of those who rivalled his political ascendancy. He was trifling and embarrassed in conversation, always eager and in a hurry, unbounded in adulation, and profuse in promises. Yet he possessed considerable abilities: he had a quick apprehension, was an useful and frequent debater, spoke with great animation, wrote with uncommon facility, and was perfect master of foreign affairs.

Mr. Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, commenced his political career as a Whig, in opposition to Sir Robert Walpole, and soon distinguished himself by the splendour and energy of his eloquence. He was an adherent of lord Cobham; attached himself to Frederick, prince of Wales; and, in 1737, was appointed groom of the bed-chamber. In 1746, he was nominated paymaster of the forces; but the antipathy of the King, in consequence of his opposition to German measures, prevented his introduction into the cabinet. At length, the superiority of his talents bore down every obstacle; in 1757, the King, sensible of the weakness of the ministry, and alarmed for the ill success of the war, reluctantly consented to appoint him secretary of state. Thus Mr. Pitt, according to the current expression of the day, took *the cabinet by storm;* but from this moment Great Britain assumed a formidable position. Mr. Pitt relinquished his opposition to continental connexions; constant success attended him; his commanding eloquence, the wisdom of his plans, the vigour of his exertions, with the strength of his administration, silenced parliamentary opposition: the people viewed him with an admiration bordering on idolatry; and George II. gratified at the prosecution of his favourite measures, yielded with implicit confidence the reins of government to his direction.

Mr. Fox, paymaster of the forces, was a friend and active supporter of Sir Robert Walpole; and from his first entrance into parliament had almost uniformly supported the measures of government. He was of an acute penetrating genius, and active in business. His speeches were replete with information, method, and sense, but he wanted that nervous and irresistible eloquence which characterized Mr. Pitt. His manners were conciliatory, and few men had more personal friends.*

Several of the remaining members of administration were highly respectable for talents and integrity; amongst whom must be noticed lord-keeper, afterwards lord chancellor, Northington; lord Carteret, president of the council; the duke of Devonshire, lord-chamberlain; Mr. Legge, chancellor of the Exchequer; lord Anson, first lord of the Admiralty; and lord Holdernesse, secretary of state.

* *Adolphus's History of England*, p. 9.

Then the King being seated upon his throne, surrounded by his nobles and ministers, the judges of the land, the lords spiritual and temporal, the priests and elders of the people, he spoke unto them, saying,

Behold it has pleased God to take unto his bosom our beloved grandfather George the Second, and raise me unto his throne.

Now I need not tell you how unworthy I am to succeed so great a prince, yet do I rely on your affection, and the goodness of the Lord, to enable me to rule over you, and strengthen your excellent constitution in church and state.

Born and educated among you, I glory in the name of Briton, and the peculiar happiness of my life will ever consist in promoting the welfare of my loving subjects, whose civil and religious rights are equally dear to me with my most valuable prerogatives.

I have found all things in a most glorious and happy condition: your enemies are humbled by the valour and intrepidity of the officers and forces at sea and land: trade, commerce, and manufactures were never more flourishing: and above all, you are in peace and harmony among yourselves; there are no divisions, and the brawlings of faction seem for ever extinguished.

In this state have I found my kingdom, which I hope with God's blessing to preserve: and as the surest foundation of the whole, I am determined to discountenance all debauchery and profaneness; and, as the best support of the throne, encourage true religion and piety.

Nevertheless, as the encroachments and ambition of my enemies still continue, I rely on my faithful Commons to grant such liberal

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Born and educated among you, I glory in the name of Briton.] This expression was thought at the time to allude to the two former kings being aliens. It was warmly applauded by the nation and both houses of parliament. The Lords in their address, alluding to this part of the King's speech, make the following fulsome and sneaking observation: "We are penetrated with the condescending and endearing manner in which your Majesty has expressed your satisfaction in having received your birth and education amongst us. What a lustre does it cast upon the name of Briton, when you Sire, are pleased to esteem it among your glories." The Commons were so outrageously loyal, that they presented two addresses; in the second, they thank his Majesty for the gracious manner in which he received the first.

supplies as will enable me to support my good ally the king of Prussia, and to bring this just and necessary war to a safe and honourable conclusion.

Then the King, turning to the elders of the people, he lamented the heavy burdens which they had imposed upon his people, and hoped that they would grant him money enough to carry on the government, and support the crown in honour and dignity.

Now these things being spoken in the English tongue, and the King being fair and comely to look upon, the people were pleased therewith, and he was mightily beloved by all his subjects.

Then the King determined to marry a wife, that he might raise up heirs to his throne, and for this purpose he issued a decree to the tenor and effect following:

That having nothing so much at heart as the welfare of his people, and rendering the same permanent to posterity, he had come to a resolution to demand in marriage Princess Charlotte Mecklenburgh Strelitz; a princess distinguished by every eminent and amiable endowment, whose illustrious line had constantly shown the firmest zeal for the protestant succession.

Having made this declaration, he sent some of his most trusty servants to fetch the princess to England, where they were married in the Royal Chapel of St. James, on the eighth day of the month called September, and on the twenty-second day of the month they were crowned King and Queen of England.

And in fulness of time the King begat a son, and called his name

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Now these things being spoken in the English tongue.] Neither of the two former kings could speak the English language, and George III. pronouncing his speech correctly in his native tongue, together with greater affability in his manner, contributed much to his popularity. Mr. Walpole gives the following account of his first appearance: "For the King himself he seems all good-nature, wishing to satisfy every body; all his speeches are obliging. I saw him again yesterday, and was surprised to find the levee-room had lost so entirely the air of the lion's den. This sovereign don't stand in one spot, with his eyes fixed royally on the ground, and dropping bits of German news: he walks about and speaks to every body. I saw him afterwards on the throne, where he is graceful and genteel, sits with dignity, and reads his answers to addresses well."—*Lord Orford's Works*, vol. vi. p. 222.

And in fulness of time—midst of a vast number of spectators.] The public accoucho-

George, and he was born on the memorable twelfth day of August, in the midst of a vast number of spectators: being a prince of fine parts and great promise, prayers were put up in all the churches, and great rejoicings were made on the occasion.

And it happened after these things that there appeared unto the King an evil spirit, in the shape of a lord, named Bute, and it counselled wickedness unto him.

And the King was possessed with this evil spirit, and listened to all its suggestions: so that he discharged his most faithful servants and ministers, and made a disgraceful peace with the enemies of England.

And because of these things the love of the people was turned into hatred, and their blessings into curses, and the memory of Bute stinketh in the nostrils of the people unto this day.

Howbeit the king loved this minister and put all power into his

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ment of the Queen is intended to preclude any doubt as to the legitimacy of the royal issue. When the Prince was born, the archbishop of Canterbury, the duke of Devonshire, and eight other lords were present: the most reverend father in God was in the room while her Majesty was delivered, and the other nine in the next adjoining room, with the door open.—*Edinburgh Review*, vol. xxiii. p. 449.

And it happened after these things that there arose an evil spirit.] The early part of lord Bute's life was spent in retirement; and Sir Nathaniel Wraxall relates, that for want of more important engagements, he spent much of his time in walking on the banks of the Thames, admiring the beauty of his own legs. A mere accident brought him acquainted with Frederick, Prince of Wales, whose place after his death it is generally supposed he supplied. It is to the influence of lord Bute, that the despotic and intolerant notions of George III. are attributed. He is described as a nobleman haughty in his manners, despotic in his principles, and mysterious in his conduct.

And because of these things, the love of the people was turned into hatred.]—The changes which were made soon after the king's accession entirely destroyed his popularity. On the 27th of October, Sunday having only intervened, lord Bute was sworn a member of the privy council, and shortly after the rangership of Richmond Park was taken from the Princess Amelia and bestowed on him. By an order of the King in council, the name of the Duke of Cumberland was struck out of the liturgy. This was followed by a grand creation of peers, and the nomination of twelve additional LORDS of the BED-CHAMBER—an office of worse than Turkish or Persian servility. Another circumstance which created much disgust was the dismissal of Mr. Legge, chancellor of the exchequer, who had incurred the King's displeasure while Prince of Wales.

The most disgraceful part however of the commencement of this reign was, the great and shameless extent to which parliamentary corruption was carried. The approbation of the Commons of the peace of Fontainbleau, was procured by distributing immense sums of money among the members. This fact is undeniable; speak-

hands, and loaded him with favours, and to the end of his reign swayed the sceptre of Britain under the guidance of his principles.

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ing on this subject, Sir Nathaniel Wraxall, gives the following extraordinary account: —"John Ross Mackay, who had been private secretary to the earl of Bute, and afterwards, during seventeen years, was treasurer of the ordnance, a man with whom I was personally acquainted, frequently avowed the fact. He lived to a very advanced age, sat in several parliaments, and only died in, I believe, 1796. A gentleman of high professional rank and unimpeached veracity, who is still alive, told me, that dining at the late earl of Besborough's, in Cavendish-square, in the year 1790, where only four persons were present including himself, Ross Mackay was one of the number, gave them the most ample information on this subject. Lord Besborough having called after dinner for a bottle of excellent Champaigne, a wine to which Mackay was partial, and the conversation happening to turn on the means of governing the House of Commons, Mackay said that MONEY *formed after all the only effectual and certain method*. The peace of 1763, continued he, was carried through and approved by a pecuniary distribution. Nothing else could have surmounted the difficulty. I was myself the channel through which the money passed. With my own hand *I secured above* ONE HUNDRED AND TWENTY VOTES, on that most important question, to ministers; *eighty thousand* pounds were set apart for the purpose. Forty members of the House of Commons received from me a thousand pounds each. To eighty others, I paid five hundred pounds each. Mackay afterwards confirmed, more than once, this fact, to the gentleman above mentioned, who related it to me."

The statement of Sir Nathaniel is confirmed by the Bishop of Llandaff in the Anecdotes of his Life recently published, and also in Almon's Life of Lord Chatham. Indeed it is now notorious that the late reign commenced with a most wasteful distribution of the public money among hireling writers, spies, and the members of the House of Commons.

APPLICATION.

As the coronation is but slightly noticed in this chapter, the following lively description by Mr. Walpole of the scandal and magnificence attending this august ceremony is added:

"For the coronation, if a *puppet-shew* could be worth a million, that is. The multitudes, balconies, guards, and processions, made Palace-yard the liveliest spectacle in the world: the hall was the most glorious. The blaze of light, the richness and variety of habits, the ceremonial, the benches of peers and peeresses, frequent and full, was as awful as a pageant can be; and yet for the King's sake and my own, I never wish to see another; nor am impatient to have my lord Effingham's promise fulfilled. The ——— complained that so few precedents were kept for their proceedings. Lord Effingham owned that the earl-marshal's office had been strangely neglected; but he had taken much care for the future that the *next coronation* would be regulated in the most exact manner imaginable. The number of peers and peeresses present was not very great; some of the latter, with no excuse in the world, appeared in lord Lincoln's gallery, and even walked about the hall indecently in the intervals of the procession. My lady ———, covered with all the diamonds she could borrow, hire, or seize, and with the air of Roxana, was the finest figure at a distance: she complained to George Selwyn that she was to walk with lady P———, who would have a wig and a stick:—"Pho," said he, "you will only appear as if you were taken up by the constable." She told this every where, thinking the re-

flection was on my lady P———. Lady Pembroke alone, at the head of the countesses, was the picture of majestic modesty; the duchess of Richmond as pretty as nature and dress, with no pains of her own, could make her; lady Sutherland, and lady Spencer, and lady Northampton, were pretty figures. Lady Kildare still beauty itself, if not a little too large. The ancient peeresses were by no means of the worst party: lady Westmorland still handsome, and with more dignity than all; the duchess of Queensberry looked well, though her locks milk white; lady Albemarle very genteel: nay, the middle age had some good representatives in lady Holdernesse, lady Rochford, and lady Strafford, the perfectest little figure of all. My lady Suffolk ordered her robes, and I dressed part of her head, as I made some of lord Hertford's dress; for you know no profession comes amiss to me, from a tribune of the people to a habit-maker. Don't imagine there were not figures as excellent on the other side: old E———r, who told the ——— he was the handsomest man she ever saw; old E——m, lady S—— and S——, with her hair powdered and her tresses black, were an excellent contrast to the handsome. Lord B—— put rouge upon his wife and the duchess of B—— in the painted chamber; the duchess of Q——— told me of the latter, that she looked like an orange peach, half red and half yellow. The coronets of the peers and their robes disguised them strangely; it required all the beauty of the dukes of Richmond and Marlborough to make them noticed. One there was, though of another species, the noblest figure I ever saw, the high-constable of Scotland, lord Errol; as one saw him in a space capable of containing him, one admired him. At the wedding, dressed in tissue, he looked like one of the giants in Guildhall, new gilt. It added to the energy of his person, that we considered him acting so considerable a part in the very hall, where so few years ago, one saw his father, lord Kilmarnock, condemned to the block. The champion acted his part admirably, and dashed down his gauntlet with proud defiance. His associates lord T——t, lord E———, and the duke of B———, were woeful; lord T———t piqued himself on backing his horse down the hall, and not turning its rump towards the King, but he had taken such pains to dress it to that duty, that it entered backwards; and at its retreat, the spectators laughed, a terrible indecorum, but suitable to such *Bartholomew Fair doings*. He had twenty *démêlés*, and came out of none creditably. He had taken away the table of the Knights of Bath, and was forced to admit two of them in the old place, and dine the others in the court of requests. Sir Wm. Stanhope said "we are ill-treated, for *some of us* are gentlemen." Beckford told the King, it was hard to refuse a table to the city of London, when it would cost ten thousand pounds to banquet the King, and that his lordship would report it if they had not a table in the hall; they had. To the barons of the Cinque-ports, who made the same complaint, he said, "if you come to me as lord-steward, I tell you it is impossible; if as lord T——t, I am a match for any one of you;" and then he said to lord Bute, "if I were a minister, thus would I talk to France, to Spain, to the Dutch, —none of your half measures."—*Lord Orford's Works*, vol. vi. p. 259-60.

XXXVI.—GEORGE III.

Now it came to pass in the fifth year of the reign of King George,

Now it came to pass—all the Americans should be taxed.]—The fatal project of taxing

on the 10th day of the month called March, a decree went forth commanding all the Americans to be taxed.

Howbeit the Americans being a shrewd and valiant people, they refused to pay tribute the king, and they sent messengers unto him, saying,

Remember, O King, that our forefathers were driven from their native land by tyranny and oppression, and were compelled to take up their abode in woods and forests, among wild beasts.

There they flourished not by your care, but by your neglect.

Suffering all the ills of nature, exposed to hunger, cold and weariness, they surmounted every obstacle, and became a great and mighty people by their courage, industry, and perseverance.

And now, O King, it is not meet that we who have been persecuted, rejected, and despised, should now be compelled, without our consent, to pay tribute to our oppressors.

America had many years since been proposed to Sir Robert Walpole; but that cautious statesman replied, "that it was a measure too hazardous for him to venture upon, he should therefore leave it to some more daring successor in office to make the experiment." After the failure of the excise bill, the same plan was proposed to him by Sir William Ruth, when, Walpole indignantly replied, "I have Old England set against me, and do you think I will have New England likewise." This daring measure was reserved for Mr. Grenville, who brought forward his proposition on the 10th of March, 1764. His resolution imported that it would be proper to impose certain STAMP DUTIES in the colonies and plantations of America, for the purpose of raising an American revenue, payable into the British Exchequer. The prospect of being relieved by the taxation of America, from a portion of the national burdens, was so agreeable to the interest, and unlimited exercise of authority so flattering to the pride of the Commons, that the resolution passed the house with no violent or unusual opposition. The ministers deeming the measure of importance, reserved the execution of it till the next year. The glorious result is well known.

There they flourished not by your care] Colonel Barré, a speaker of great eminence, in the debate on the Stamp Act, in reply to Mr. Townshend on the pretended *ingratitude* of the Americans, whom he styled, "children planted by our *care*, and nourished by our *indulgence*," broke out into a most eloquent and indignant exclamation. —"They planted by your care!" said he, "No—your oppressions planted them in America—they fled from your tyranny to a then uncultivated and inhospitable wilderness, exposed to all the hardships to which human nature is liable. They nourished by your indulgence!—No; they grew by your neglect of them: your *care* of them was displayed as soon as you began to care about them, in sending persons to rule them who were the deputies of the deputies of ministers—men whose behaviour on many occasions has caused the blood of those sons of liberty to recoil within them—men who have been promoted to the highest seats of

Howbeit the evil spirit prevailing, the heart of the king was hardened, and he hearkened not unto their prayers, but prepared to make war upon them; and in his wrath he called them rebels and traitors.

Then he commanded his captains and his soldiers to make war upon them; they blocked up their sea-ports, laid waste their cities with fire and sword; slaughtered the inhabitants, and ravished their women.

Thus was the indignation of the Americans kindled; they flew to arms; they rose as one man and attacked the invaders.

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justice in that country, in order to escape being brought to the bar of a court of justice in their own. I have been conversant with the Americans and I know them to be loyal indeed; but a people jealous of their liberties, and who will vindicate them if they should ever be violated: and let my prediction of this day be remembered, that the same spirit of freedom which actuated this people at first, will accompany them still." *Belsham's Great Britain*, vol. v. p. 147. The house sat apparently hesitating and amazed, but the event shewed how transient was the impression.

Howbeit the evil Spirit prevailing.] A strange infatuation prevailed in the English councils, throughout the American contest. Ministers would not believe at the commencement the Americans were capable of making any effective resistance; and in all their speeches and public declarations they were treated with the utmost contempt and insolence. At first, no addition was made to the peace establishment; and earl Sandwich, first lord of the admiralty, declared in the House of Peers, that the force on foot would be amply sufficient to reduce the colonies to obedience. He spoke in terms the most contemptuous of the power and courage of the Americans. He asserted that they were neither disciplined nor capable of discipline; and that, formed of such materials, their number would only add to the facility of defeat. Another *hero* in the lower house, General Grant, declared, that at the head of five regiments of infantry, he would undertake to traverse the whole country, and drive the Americans from one continent to the other. The poor King was as infatuated as his Ministers. In his speech on the opening of the session in 1776, he says, "that so daring and desperate was the spirit of these leaders, whose object has only been dominion and power, that they have now openly renounced all allegiance to the crown, and all political connexion with this country; they have rejected, with circumstances of indignity and insult, the means of conciliation held out to them, and have PRESUMED to set up their REBELLIOUS CONFEDERACIES as independent states. If their TREASON be suffered to take root, much mischief must grow from it to the PRESENT SYSTEM OF ALL EUROPE." The reader will remark that "*social order*" was the pretence for alarm at this period. Dr. FRANKLIN well observes that the struggle was not so much against American liberty, as the principles of liberty. In 1777, the King expressed his confidence that, the spirit and intrepidity of his forces would be attended with the most important success, but intimated the necessity of preparing for such sacrifices, "as the contingencies of the war, and the OBSTINACY OF THE REBELS might render expedient. He expressed his determination steadily to pursue the measures in which they were engaged, and his hope, "that the DELUDED AND UNHAPPY MULTITUDE would finally return

And on the fourth day of the month called July, in the year of the prophet one thousand seven hundred and seventy six, they put forth the memorable DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

And in this declaration they solemnly threw off the iron yoke of George the Third, and accused him of divers acts of tyranny and oppression.

And they declared that it is the unalienable right of the people, whenever government ceases to fulfil the ends of its institution to form a new government on principles most likely to secure their safety and happiness.

And they enumerated all the injuries, oppressions, and usurpations of the king of Great Britain; they complained that their humble petitions were treated with contempt and insult; that all the acts of the king were those of a tyrant, and he was unfit to be the ruler of a free

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to their allegiance."—So the Americans were the DELUDED MULTITUDE in 1777; now it is the Reformers. It is the technical language of tyranny in all ages, when applied to men contending for their rights and impatient of oppression. It may not be amiss to add another instance of the insufferable pride of the English court. In the spring of the year 1777, the American government having a very considerable number of British prisoners in their possession, applied through the medium of Dr. Franklin, the resident of the United States at Paris, to lord Stromont, ambassador from the King of England, to exchange them for an equal number of Americans, to which proposition his lordship returned the following memorable answer: "the King's Ambassador receives no application from REBELS unless they come to implore his Majesty's mercy." The Commons this year having granted every thing to ministers to carry on this ruinous contest, the king, at the close of the session, bestowed upon them the most flattering compliments for the unquestionable proofs they had given of their CLEAR DISCERNMENT of the TRUE INTERESTS OF THEIR COUNTRY.

And on the fourth day of the month—declaration of independence.] The Americans, finding that the utmost lenity they could expect from Britain, was pardon upon unconditional submission, determined on the declaration of independence. Maryland alone, manifested some symptoms of reluctance. General Lee, in a letter written to a person of distinction in the colony, reproves their tardiness with his characteristic fire and vehemence: "I know not," says he, "whether in the whole course of my life, I ever read any thing which so much moved my pity and indignation, as the late declaration of the convention of Maryland. They declare that they shall esteem separation from Great Britain as the last of misfortunes. What! when an attempt has been made to rob you of your property, of your birth-rights—when your fields have been laid waste, your towns have been burnt, and your citizens butchered; when your property is seized and confiscated in all parts of the world; when an inexorable tyrant, an abandoned parliament, and a corrupt pusillanimous people, have formed an hellish league to rob you of every thing men hold most dear; is it possible there should be creatures who

people; and, appealing to the supreme judge of the world, for the rectitude of their intentions, they declared that the colonies are, and of right ought to be free and independent states; and that they are absolved from all allegiance to the British crown, and that all political connexion betwixt them and Great Britain is dissolved for ever.

Nevertheless the heart of the king was hardened, and he lent his ear unto foolish counsellors. And they counselled him to send forth his fleets and his armies to subdue the Americans, whom they described as cowards and traitors, who ought to be hunted down as wild beasts.

And these things tickled the ears of the king, and his heart was swoln with pride; so that he refused to listen to the warnings of the prophets, who foretold all the evils that came to pass.

Howbeit the Lord raised up a hero and a deliverer for the Americans, and his name was George Washington.

And he was a prudent and valiant man; he led on their armies; he vanquished the troops of the king in many battles; he took captive the marquis Cornwallis, and Bourgoyne, and many others of the leaders of the king fell into his hands.

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march on two legs, and call themselves human, who can be so destitute of sentiment, courage, and feeling, as sobbingly to protest, they shall deem separation from these butchers and robbers as the last of misfortunes.

"Oh, I would brain you with your ladies' fans!"

Maryland however at length concurred; and the delegates of the thirteen colonies assembled in general congress, being unanimous, the famous declaration was promulgated on the fourth of July, 1776:—a memorable day, which severed for ever three millions of men from the Boroughmongers' domination.

And these things tickled the ears of the king—foretold him all the evils that came to pass.] So early as 1775, when ministers had publicly admitted their intention to coerce the Americans, lord Chatham foretold their efforts would prove abortive. In the debate on the 20th of January, he said, "it is more than evident you cannot force them to your unworthy terms of submission; it is impossible; WE ourselves shall be forced ultimately to retract; let us retract while we can, not when we must. I repeat it, my lords, we shall one day be forced to undo these violent oppressive acts; they must be repealed, you will repeal them; I stake my reputation on it; I will consent to be taken for an IDIOT if they are not repealed."

The celebrated DAVID HUME saw equally clear the issue of the American contest. In a letter to a friend, dated October 26, 1775, he thus expresses his sentiments on American politics: "I must, before we part, have a little stroke of politics with you, notwithstanding my resolution to the contrary. We hear that some of the ministers

Then the King waked as from a dream: he saw how vain it was to contend against a people determined to be free: his forces were withdrawn, and America became a powerful and independent state.

have proposed in council, that both fleet and army be withdrawn from America, and these colonies be left entirely to themselves. I wish I had been a member of his Majesty's cabinet council that I might have seconded this opinion; I should have said that this measure only anticipated the necessary course of events a few years."—"Let us therefore lay aside all anger, shake hands, and part friends; or if we retain any anger, let it be only against ourselves for our past folly."

Then the King waked as from a dream.] Provisional articles of pacification between England and America were signed at Paris on the 30th November, 1782, but the definitive treaty was not concluded till the following year. Dr. FRANKLIN, who had been the subject of the vilest and grossest abuse, had the honour of signing the treaty on the part of the United States. By it the thirteen provinces were declared free and independent: thus did the "*deluded multitude*" of America happily escape for ever from the taxation and tyranny of the English Oligarchy.

APPLICATION.

The King had now reigned more than twenty years, and in the momentous and variegated events which had distinguished this period, his character, personal and political, was completely matured and developed. His capacity, little cultivated by education, and unimproved in early youth by a liberal intercourse with men of genius and discernment, was universally allowed to be of a class which had no pretensions to native superiority. In his conduct upon all occasions, an invincible obstinancy was observable; and while rectitude of intention was allowed, it was impossible but to lament the absence of all the nobler sensibilities of humanity. Never was it suspected that the disgraceful and hopeless contest by which an empire was dismembered, in which 150 millions of money, and one hundred thousand lives were sacrificed, cost this monarch a sigh or a tear. His religion was tinctured with bigotry and intolerance, and zealously attached to the forms of the church, he viewed with suspicion and dislike, approaching to dread and abhorrence, all who dissented from its ordinances. In his private character, grave, temperate, and devout; he was free from those vices which are usually considered as more peculiarly characteristic of a court. But the virtues of the man, were they such as to entitle him to the honours of canonization, afforded a very inadequate compensation for the errors and imperfections of the monarch; under whose reign, from the almost perpetual predominance of evil councils, it may justly be affirmed that, while the people were flattered with the forms and advantages of a free constitution, they witnessed all the follies, and suffered all the calamities and oppressions which could have happened under the most weak and profligate despotism.

Many of the vices and misfortunes of his reign may be ascribed to his unfortunate education, which had not been superintended by his predecessor with the care his birth, and the great prospects to which he was heir, was entitled. He was only between twelve and thirteen years of age, when he lost his father; and George the Second did not extend any enlightened or affectionate attention to that important national object. Even his mother, the Princess Dowager of Wales, seems to have been sensible of the neglect her son experienced. Speaking of him to Doddington, in 1755, when the Prince was in his seventeenth year, she said, that "he was shy and backward; not a wild dissipated boy, but good-natured and cheerful, with a serious cast

upon the whole: that those about him knew him no more than if they had never seen him. That he was not quick; but with those he was acquainted, applicable and intelligent. His education had given her much pain. His book-learning she was no judge of, though she supposed it small or useless: but she hoped he might have been instructed in the general understanding of things." These formed the leading features of the King's mind, which were fully developed in his subsequent reign.

In modern history he was tolerably well instructed; particularly in the annals of England and France, as well as Germany: but in classical knowledge, and in all the Greek and Roman historians,—compositions which afford the noblest examples of liberty and true glory,—he was little conversant. So slight was his acquaintance with Latin, that at forty it is doubted whether he could construe a page of Cicero or Ovid. He never, indeed, delighted in these branches of study, nor even passed much of his time in sedentary occupations, calculated to improve his mind after his accession to the crown. A newspaper, which he commonly took up after dinner, and over which, however interesting its contents might be, he usually fell asleep in less than half an hour, constituted the ordinary extent of his application.* If, however, he did not possess a very cultivated understanding, he was not entirely deficient in the accomplishments befitting his high station. He spoke with fluency the English, French, and German languages, nor was he ignorant of the Italian. He wrote with brevity, perspicuity, and facility. For painting and architecture he showed a taste, and music always constituted one of his favourite recreations. He was well versed in mechanics; and in a knowledge of agriculture, he scarcely yielded to a Coke, a Bedford, or a Somerville.

A more particular exposition of his character and principles of government must be reserved to the conclusion of his reign. For the first twenty-five years few sovereigns were more unpopular, but after the conclusion of the American war he appears to have gained, in some degree, on the affections of the community.

XXXVII.—GEORGE III.

Now it happened in the twentieth year of the King, great tumults arose in the land on account of religion, and great multitudes assembled in the city of Edinburgh and Glasgow, to overawe the King and terrify his parliament.

And the example of these enthusiasts was followed by others in

And the example of these enthusiasts—Protestant associations.] The disgraceful excesses of this period arose from some indulgences granted to the catholics by the repeal of the tenth and eleventh of William III. for preventing the growth of popery. The benefits procured to Papists by this repeal, were an exemption of bishops, priests, and instructors of youth from prosecution and imprisonment, a security of the rights of inheritance, and permission to purchase lands in fee simple: but these privileges were granted only on condition of taking the oaths of allegiance, of renunciation of

* Wraxall's Memoirs of his Own Time, p. 397.

the city of London, and they called themselves the Protestant Association.

Now these men being led away by many false stories and rumours concerning the papists, they were sorely afraid, and cried with a loud voice, *No popery.*

And on the second day of the month called June, they assembled together in one place, called St. George's Fields, where they amounted to one hundred thousand men, all mad with holy zeal.

And having appointed an enthusiast, named Lord George Gordon for their leader, they advanced into the city, over London Bridge; being preceded on their march by a man carrying a roll of parchment upon his head, on which was written their names, and a list of grievances.

And when they came to the chapel of St. Stephen, great alarm came upon the members of that holy place: some with their swords threatened to destroy Gordon their leader; others offered to sally forth to disperse the multitude.

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the Stuart family, on abjuration of the position that it is lawful to murder heretics, and that no faith should be kept with them, and of that position which legalizes the deposition or murder of princes excommunicated by the Pope. They were alsoon oath to deny the Pope's authority, spiritual or civil, within the realm.

Now these men being led away by many false stories and rumours concerning the Papists.] No doubt many false doctrines have been ascribed to the Catholics, tending to keep up a violent prejudice against them. Of this description is the doctrine that it is lawful to murder princes excommunicated by the Pope, and that oaths made to heretics are void. If such dogmas were ever entertained, they have been long since discarded; and the Catholics may now be considered as tolerant and liberal as any other sect of religionists. The truth is, that some few centuries ago, protestants as well as papists were equally addicted to persecution and absurdity, but the more pernicious errors of the latter as well as the former have been exploded by the progress of reason and philosophy.

And on the second day of the month called June.] All those who met to accompany the petition wore blue cockades in their hats, to distinguish real protestants and friends. They were marshalled in separate bands, and after an harangue from Lord George Gordon, the main body made a circuit over London Bridge, and through the city to the seat of parliament. They marched six a-breast, preceded by a man carrying on his head the petition, signed with one hundred and twenty thousand names or marks. It is remarkable that on the very day of presenting this tumultuous petition, the Duke of Richmond introduced his famous plan of parliamentary reform.

And having appointed an enthusiast named Lord George Gordon.] Of this crazy nobleman, Sir N. Wraxall gives the following description: "I knew Lord George Gordon well, and I once accompanied him from a party where we met in Lower Gro-

Howbeit the fanatics were emboldened by their numbers; they knocked at the door of the temple, and the nobles and elders of the people were insulted on their way to Westminster.

Then they began to destroy all the popish chapels, to pull down

venor-street, at the late Lord Elcho's, to Ranelagh, in the summer of 1782, in his own coach: in his person he was thin, his features regular, and his complexion pale. His manners were gentle, his conversation agreeable, and he had the appearance, as well as the deportment of a man of quality. There was something however in his cast of countenance, or mode of expression, that indicated cunning, or a perverted understanding, or both. His whole income, I believe, consisted in an annuity of six hundred pounds a year, paid him by his brother, the Duke of Gordon. It forms a singular subject of reflection, that after involving London in all the horrors of insurrection and anarchy, he should have escaped any punishment for these proceedings, which cost the lives of so many individuals, and the demolition of so many edifices; while he expiated to the end of his days in Newgate the publication of a libel on the late unfortunate Queen of France, who herself perished on the scaffold. He exhibited the strongest attestation of the sincerity of his conversion to Judaism by submitting to one of the most painful ceremonies or acts enjoined by the Mosaic law. The operation, which was performed at Birmingham, confined him to his chamber, if not to his bed, for a considerable time; and he preserved with great care the sanguinary proofs of his having undergone the amputation."—*Memoirs of my Own Time*, p 355.

Howbeit the fanatics were emboldened by their numbers.] They were only prevented rushing into the house by the resolution and activity of the door-keepers. Several peers exhibited, on their entrance, incontestible proofs of the outrages they had sustained, and stated to the chair the danger of other members; while the Duke of Richmond, in his zeal for reform, complained of interruption, and seemed to consider his speech of more importance than the lives of Lord Boston and the Bishop of Lincoln, who were at that moment declared to be in the hands of the protestants. Lord Townshend proposed that the House should issue forth in a body to rescue Lord Boston; this gave rise to a debate, whether the Speaker should attend with his mace, which was only terminated by the appearance of the noble lord.

Meanwhile the situation of the Commons was equally critical; many of the members being no less ill-treated than the Lords. The associators took possession of the lobby, making St. Stephen's resound with the cries of *No popery:* and, when the immense power of the multitude is considered, it is not easy to say what prevented them rushing in. During the debate on the petition, Lord George Gordon frequently went into the lobby, harangued his noisy troop, and encouraged them to persevere. He represented, or, more correctly, misrepresented what was said by the members; which being observed by Colonel Holroyd, he took hold of Lord George, when he returned into the House, and said, "he had heretofore imputed his conduct to madness, but now found it more characterized by malice, and, if he repeated such proceedings, he should immediately move for his commitment to Newgate." He desisted from going out at the door, but, afterwards, went up stairs and spoke to the people in the lobby from a kind of gallery. General Conway intimated a determination to resist any attempt to intrude into the House; and Colonel Murray, a relation of Lord George Gordon, declared, that, on the bursting open the door, his sword should pass through Lord George, and not through the rioters.*

* Adolphus's History of George III. v. iii. p. 245.

the prisons, and the dwellings of the king's ministers, and they made an attack upon the Bank of England.

And amidst the uproar and disorder the government appeared disarmed of all power and authority, and no measures were taken to restrain the excesses of the multitude.

At length the king summoned a council of his ministers and chief officers, to consider what ought to be done to save the city.

Howbeit they feared to give their opinion unto the king, and were about to depart, when the king said unto them, Is there no law whereby these tumults can be suppressed?

And when the king had said this, there arose a man, called Star-

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The House continued in this extraordinary state till nine o'clock, when, a detachment of soldiers having arrived, the passages were cleared and the House adjourned.

And amidst the uproar and disorder the government appeared disarmed of all power and authority.] A strange supineness prevailed in the King's councils during the progress of these transactions No specific orders were issued from any department; and without them the magistrates were reluctant to exercise the powers confided to them by the riot act. On the fifth, a privy council was summoned, but it separated without adopting any other measure than offering a reward of five hundred pounds for the discovery of those concerned in destroying the chapels of the ambassadors. On the seventh, a second privy council was convened, at which, not cabinet ministers alone, but all who had a seat were desired to attend; the King himself was present; irresolution still prevailed, nor was any thing decisive or effectual suggested. The council had risen, when the King anxiously demanded, if no measure could be recommended. Mr. Wedderburne, the Attorney-General, afterwards Lord Loughborough, answered he knew but one:—that of declaring the tumult rebellious, and authorizing the military to act where necessity required, although the magistrates should not attend. The King desired him to make out the order, which he did at the table on one knee, and a proclamation was drawn up, and orders from the adjutant-general's office issued accordingly. The proclamation was not issued till the evening, but the public soon experienced its good effects.

Colonel Holroyd was the first to put a stop to the outrages of the populace; but not before several were killed in the act of breaking into and firing the houses. The military took possession of every avenue to the Bank, which was also barricaded and strongly guarded; the populace made two attempts in several quarters, but were repulsed, and could not be rallied: feeble and hesitative shouts subsided into distant murmurs; and, after a short space, into total silence. The regular firing of the soldiery produced a tremendous effect. The rioters, attentive to their own safety and employed in removing their wounded associates, fled regardless of the orders of their leaders. Similar success attended the exertions of the military in other quarters; and those, who, at night, had been terrified by the shouts of an unnumbered populace, and distracted with the portentous gleam of six and thirty separate conflagrations, saw, in the morning, no vestiges of alarm but smoking ruins, marks of shot, and traces of blood designating the route of the wounded fugitives.

vation Wedderburne, and this man said unto the king, It is lawful to destroy the rioters as rebels and traitors.

Then the king said, this then is the law? And Wedderburne replied, It is the law.

Then said the king, So let it be. And immediately orders were issued, commanding the soldiers to fire upon the rioters. Many were killed and wounded; and of those taken prisoners several were tried and executed.

Howbeit peace was restored to the capital, and one of the most foolish and disgraceful enterprises that ever happened in England, finally subdued.

XXXIX.—GEORGE III.

Now, in those days, there appeared in the midst of a powerful nation, in the bosom of a mighty monarchy, at the foot of a majestic throne, two sisters, named LIBERTY and TRUTH, and they proclaimed, with a loud voice, the *Rights of Man*.

At these words, all the nations of the earth were moved; the

Now in those days there appeared.] The commencement of the French revolution is usually dated from the capture of the Bastile, on the 14th July, 1789. But the causes which produced this terrible convulsion had been accumulating for ages, and may be enumerated, as follows: the extravagance and profligacy of the court; the feudal oppressions of the nobility, and their exemption from taxes; the rapacity of the clergy; the power of arbitrary imprisonment by *lettres de cachet*; the restrictions on the freedom of the press; the general corruption in the administration of justice; the embarrassments of the finances; and the unequal distribution of the public burdens. The body of the people had become sufficiently enlightened to discover these abuses; and the revolution was merely the struggle of the useful classes against regal, aristocratical, and ecclesiastical oppression.

At these word all the nations of the earth were moved.] A terrible sensation was produced throughout Europe by the events in France. All the old potentates were dreadfully alarmed for the interests of their order. After the flight and arrest of Louis at Varennes, the Emperor Leopold sent a circular to the different European courts, inviting them to form a league against French principles. In this state paper, called the circular of Padua, they announce that they regard the cause of the King of France as their own; they threaten the most dreadful vengeance in case of any

fetters of the slave were loosened; tyrants trembled on their thrones; and the priests and deceivers of the people gnashed their teeth in agony, lest the eyes of their followers should be opened.

And the doctrines they taught were these: that men were born, and always continue free and equal with respect to their rights.

That the end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man. And these rights are liberty, property, security, and resistance to oppression.

That the people are the only legitimate source of authority.

That the law, which is an expression of the will of the community, ought only to prohibit actions hurtful to society.

And, finally, that men being all equal in the sight of the law, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and emoluments, without any other distinction than that created by their talents and virtues.

Moreover, they attacked the superstitions of the priesthood, and exposed their licentiousness, knavery, and hypocrisy.

They taught, that the most acceptable worship of God was that which ministered to the happiness of his creatures; and that the most glorious attributes of the Deity, his power, his wisdom, and beneficence, were to be learnt from the contemplation of his works.

And men's eyes began to be opened; they no longer looked on traditionary fables, full of blasphemous tales of the Divinity, of gross and obscene stories, of palpable and absurd contradictions, to be of divine origin.

They no longer looked upon kings as the vicegerents of God upon earth; and mankind created to be the victims of their passions; to be slaughtered in their wars; and the produce of their industry wasted in the lust and debaucheries of princes.

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further restraint being imposed, or any further indignity offered to the king or the royal family; they declare that all laws are illegal unless sanctioned by the king in a state of perfect freedom: and, finally, the circular concludes, that, unless these proposals are accepted, the powers would unite, and, with all their means, endeavour to put an end to the existence of the *evil* in France, and to prevent it spreading into their own dominions.

The pride of birth and rank, the pretensions of nobles, and the craft of priests were all investigated.

In short, a new heaven and a new earth were opened. All things under the sun were about to be renewed; there were to be no longer lords, nor dukes, nor princes; the boundaries of states were to be obliterated; mankind were to speak only one language; and to form only one nation of citizens; oppression, crime, and hypocrisy were to be banished from the world; governments were to be founded on the will of the people; rewards and honours to be conferred only on wisdom and virtue; and religion to consist in doing good to mankind.

Howbeit these things came not to pass; for there arose an evil

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The pride of birth and rank.] By the decrees of the National Assembly, all artificial distinctions of rank; all the Gothic institutions of chivalry and knighthood; ribands, crosses, armorial bearings, and hereditary titles of honour were abolished. The feudal privileges of the nobility were annihilated, all ecclesiastical property was resumed by the state, and all monastic institutions and orders were abolished.

In short, a new heaven and a new earth were opened.] The happy auspices under which the French revolution commenced filled with rapture every noble and enlightened spirit in Europe. It was looked upon as the harbinger of a brighter day; when the whole world would undergo an entire reformation; when the dominion of superstition would be overthrown; and mankind be governed by just and equitable laws. The sanguine and generous anticipations of the friends of liberty may be learnt from the celebrated sermon of Dr. Price, on "the love of our country," delivered at a chapel belonging to the dissenters, at the Old Jewry. This venerable patriot, after thanking God that his life had been prolonged to this glorious epoch, says, "I have lived to see a diffusion of knowledge, which has undermined superstition and error; I have lived to see the rights of men better understood than ever, and nations panting for liberty which seemed to have lost the idea of it; I have lived to see thirty millions of people indignantly and resolutely spurning at slavery, and demanding liberty with an irresistible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch surrendering himself to his subjects.—After sharing in the benefits of one revolution, I have been spared to be witness to two other revolutions, both glorious; and now, methinks, I see the ardour for liberty catching and spreading, and a general amendment beginning in human affairs; the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of the laws; and the dominion of priests giving way to the dominion of reason and conscience. Be encouraged, all ye friends of freedom and writers in its defence! The times are auspicious; your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admonished by you, starting from sleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming justice from their oppressors. Behold the light you have struck out, after setting America free, reflected to France, and there kindled into a blaze that lays despotism in ashes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE." *Belsham's Great Britain*, vol. viii. p. 295.

Unfortunately these generous hopes were not realized. Some excesses on the part of the French,—the natural result of a century of superstition and tyranny—and the machinations of artful demagogues obscured for a time the glories of the revolution.

spirit, in the shape of EDMUND BURKE, and behold, he was filled with the demon of enthusiasm.

And Burke put forth a book, in which he inveighed with great bitterness against the doctrines of Liberty and Truth.

And he defended with fiery zeal the powers of darkness, and prophesied with a loud voice, that if superstition and tyranny were abolished, mankind would relapse into atheism and anarchy.

Many were led away by his doctrines, his sophistry, his eloquence, and his lies: the minds of men were filled with vain terrors; they were alarmed with phantoms of danger, and their madness was great in consequence thereof.

Howbeit the famous THOMAS PAINE endeavoured to stop the current of delusion: clothed in the armour of truth, he waged war against Burke and his disciples; he overthrew them in many battles, and so great was the discomfiture of Burke and his host, that men were filled with laughter because of the confusion thereof.

And Burke put forth a book.] His celebrated "Reflections on the French Revolution." This work contained a furious invective against the principles of the Revolution, and was written with a force of eloquence and energy of declamation calculated to produce the most powerful effects. Burke's object was twofold: First, to expose to public resentment and indignation those persons in England who had manifested their approbation of the overthrow of despotism in France; and secondly, to place the revolution itself in an odious light, as an event to be deplored, detested, and deprecated. In an Appendix to the "Reflections," he with most atrocious and unexampled malignity, invites and exhorts all *Christian* princes to make, what he styles, "a common cause, with a just prince dethroned by rebels and traitors." The *deluded* people of France, to be rescued from the evils they had brought upon themselves, must, as he affirmed, be SUBDUED. And he intimates that this war, or crusade, is to be conducted on principles different from any former one. "The mode of *civilized war* (says he) will not be practised; they must look for no *modified* hostility; all which is not battle will be MILITARY EXECUTION." Such was the ruffian exhortations of Burke, and such was the punishment he prescribed for a nation which had magnanimously thrown off the triple yoke of despots, priests, and nobles.

Many were led away by his doctrines.] From the date of Burke's incendiary publication, the nation was divided into two violent and hostile parties. The tory faction, which had hitherto scarcely dared to whisper their dislike—now, under the sanction of Burke's authority, became bold and clamorous in their vociferations. And the principles advanced by Mr. Burke at once obliterated the remembrance of all his past transgressions in favour of liberty, and placed him in the foremost rank of favourites and courtiers.

Howbeit the famous Thomas Paine.] This ingenious writer and philanthropist first distinguished himself by his pamphlet of *Common Sense*, which by its magical effect on

Nevertheless the power of corruption prevailed: men preferred darkness rather than light: all kings and princes of Europe united against the doctrines of Liberty and Truth, and the great champion of slavery and terror was rewarded with a pension, which continues unto this day.

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the Americans paved the way for the declaration of independence. The *Rights of Man* was written with no less power of intellect and force of language, and made a correspondent impression on the British public. Among numberless replies to the "Reflections on the French Revolution," it formed by far the most powerful and effective antidote. Not content with pointing out and exposing with the most sarcastic severity the absurdities and misrepresentations of Burke—not content with painting in just and striking colours the abuses and corruptions of the existing governments—he boldly attacked the principles of the constitution itself, describing it as radically vicious and tyrannical, and reprobating the introduction of aristocracy and monarchy, under *every modification*, as a flagrant usurpation of the unalienable rights of man.

A few quotations from this famous publication will show the wonder-working power with which it was written. "The countries of the old world have been long harassed by the quarrels and intrigues of their governments. Age after age has rolled away for no other purpose than to behold their wretchedness. Invention is continually exercised to furnish new pretences for revenue and taxation;—*it watches prosperity as its prey.* All monarchial governments are *military:* war is their trade, and plunder their object. —Wearied with human butchery, they sit down to rest and call it peace.—If we would delineate human nature with a baseness of heart and hypocrisy of countenance that reflection would shudder at and humanity disown, it is kings, courts, and cabinets, that must sit for the portrait. War is the pharo table of governments, and nations the dupes of the game. Government on the *old system* is an assumption for the aggrandizement of itself;—on the new, a delegation of power for the common benefit of society. Monarchy is the master fraud which shelters all others. By admitting a participation of the spoil it makes itself friends; and when it ceases to do this it will cease to be the idol of courtiers."

This is a just description of the crimes and follies of the old legitimate governments; but Paine's antipathy to monarchy and aristocracy under *every modification*, seems to require some limitation. In a civilized state, like America, where a form of government was to establish *de novo*, there might be little wisdom in rendering power hereditary; but in countries, where monarchial and aristocratical forms have existed for ages —and where they are interwoven with every institution—the wisdom of abolishing them entirely is doubtful, and the wisest mode seems to be to place them under the controul of a real and efficient representation.

Nevertheless the power of corruption prevailed—was rewarded with a pension.] It is well known that both Burke and his widow received pensions, and after the death of Mr. Burke it was continued to his executors. Considering the important services this writer rendered by his apostacy to government, corruption would have shown great ingratitude had she not bestowed upon him a distinguished reward.

XL.—GEORGE III.

Now by this time King George had begot himself many sons and daughters, and the sons and daughters of the king were of fair countenance and comely to look upon.

But of all the children of the king, none was so beautiful as the young man George: from the sole of his foot to the crown of his head no blemish was to be found in him.

And the wife of the king loved him greatly, because of the beauties of his person; for among all the nobles of England there was none like unto him, for the charms of his conversation and his graceful deportment.

And the young prince, being grown up to man's estate, was introduced at the court of his father, and the damsels of the court were

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Now by this time King George had begot himself many sons and daughters.] It is impossible but to admire the family government of the late king. When his family increased, both he and his wife became very precise in their domestic arrangements; they kept early hours and lived as much within themselves as their rank would allow. The summer months were usually spent at Kew Palace; and while the King, who understood something of military tactics, amused himself with exercising a party of soldiers, the Queen occupied herself in embroidery. Topography was the King's favourite study, and every morning and evening their Majesties received the attentions of their children, of whom George and Frederick passed eight hours daily in study: it may be worthy of remark too, that the Queen never wore any thing herself, nor purchased any thing for her children, but of English manufacture. She appeared also very particular in her associates; at least made a prudish display of the strictness she required of those females admitted of her party; though it is well known that many were admitted to the domestic circle, and stood high in her Majesty's favour, whose private morals would not bear a strict investigation. And the farce of religion too, which was kept up with a vast deal of gravity, consisted according to Junius in kneeling and reciting prayers.

And the young Prince being grown up to man's estate was introduced to the court of his father.] The Prince of Wales was introduced to the "*public private*" party at Windsor Castle in his sixteenth year. Possessing an elegant form, graceful and interesting manners, and being withal heir apparent to the throne, it is not surprising that every one found something to praise in the young Prince; and it is even said, the Queen, at the close of the evening, was so captivated by his appearance, as to express her conviction that he would be the handsomest, most sensible, and best of men. Such a flattering reception effected a material change in the character of the Prince; instead of listening as heretofore to the instructions of his tutors, he indulged in rapturous exclamations on the beauties of the ladies, and from that day his inclination for study lessened,

smitten with his charms; many prostrated themselves before him; the enchanting eyes of some, the snowy bosoms and juicy lips of others, presented to him all the joys of Paradise.

And the heart of the prince was touched therewith; he stretched forth his hand, and many partook of his bounty.

Howbeit, of all the ladies of the court, none delighted him so exceedingly as the countess of Jersey. She was a damsel of much experience, great beauty and accomplishments, and of such insinuating manners, that friends and lovers were the victims of her enchanting wiles.

And the lady was learned in all the customs and ceremonies of a court, as they had been practised from the days of Queen Elizabeth, and she instructed the prince therein; and it was said that under her ladyship's guidance his royal highness first tasted the sweets of love.

However this may be, the young prince gave loose to all his appetites, and his heart wandered after divers women.

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and the difficulty of fixing his attention became so great, that the three gentlemen who had the principal management of his education, thought it their duty to mention the subject to their Majesties. The King strongly enjoined the necessity of his son's paying strict attention to the advice of his governors and reverend preceptor, but the Queen pleaded the vivacity of youth, and urged many other frivolous excuses for the remissness of her favourite. It was a subject of frequent altercation betwixt the royal pair; and for the first time disturbed the conjugal harmony which had hitherto subsisted. Another year elapsed; but as the Prince did not resume his former relish for study, his preceptors resigned their situations.

Howbeit of all the ladies of the court—the Countess of Jersey.] The late Mrs. Villiers, a lady of rank and beauty, who stood high in the favour of the late Queen. At the time here spoken of she had two lovely daughters, whom she educated with the most scrupulous correctness, though the frailties of her own life are said to have been such, that she found opportunities to impart the same loving instructions to the Prince as the widow Warren communicated to Jean Jaques Rousseau; and that he received them with the same docility and pleasure; and she convinced him so well of the advantages of a person of experience, that he has retained a partiality for old women all his life!

However this may be—his heart wandered after divers women.] When the passion of the Prince for Mrs. Villiers had somewhat abated, the next object to which he transferred his affections was the late Mrs. Robinson, an actress, and a lady of considerable literary talents. She appears not to have preserved a long ascendancy over the Prince, and was soon abandoned to neglect and obscurity. She was succeeded by Mrs. Herbert, the widow of Mr. Herbert, of Staffordshire, a Roman catholic. This lady, under pretence of consulting the heads of her sect on the propriety of her connexion with the Prince, went over to France, where she was privately accompanied by his Royal

Moreover he contracted debts and lived riotously, indulging himself in wine, singing, dancing, feasting, and all kinds of diversions.

And the heart of the king was grieved therewith, and he mourned over the follies of his son; howbeit the prince repented not, but continued his evil ways with unabated ardour.

Then the king recommended that he should choose a wife from among the daughters of Germany; and the prince, on condition that his debts were paid, and that he were relieved from his embarrassments, consented thereto.

Messages were then despatched to bring over Caroline of Bruns-

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Highness. Whether the ceremony of marriage was there performed has never been satisfactorily explained; but certain it is, on their return, Mrs. Herbert was treated in every respect as the wife of the Prince. A magnificent villa was fitted up for her accommodation, so contiguous to that of the Prince, that a private passage conveyed him unseen to her presence, whenever he wished her society; and it was the boast of Mrs. Herbert's friends, that in their habits they set an edifying example of conjugal felicity. Their villas were crowded with visitors of distinction; even the most prudish found an apology for associating with Mrs. Herbert. So high in favour was the wife, or mistress, that the brothers of the Prince were on intimate terms with her, and it is asserted that even the Queen condescended to receive her. The unlimited extravagance of Mrs. Herbert, however, having brought the Prince into some pecuniary embarrassments, some discussion arose in the House of Commons on the nature of the connexion with this lady. Some broad hints were thrown out by Mr. Rolle, that the Prince, having espoused a Roman catholic, had violated the laws enacted for securing the protestant religion. The public mind was in some measure appeased by Mr. Fox declaring in the House, he had the authority of the Prince that his conduct had been *legally* correct, and free from the least intention to infringe the laws of the country. Notwithstanding this declaration, the subject still remains involved in mystery.

Moreover he contracted debts.] At the time of the marriage of the Prince his debts amounted to £639,890. The late King it is said promised on his marriage to discharge these debts without an application to Parliament. Whether this was the case or not we have not ourselves sufficient information to state with certainty; but it appears that the subject was actually brought before Parliament, and the King in his message to the House, in about twenty days after the marriage took place, asked for an establishment to be settled upon the Prince and his august spouse, telling them at the same time, that the benefit of any such settlement could not be effectually secured to the Prince till he was relieved from the incumbrances under which he laboured to a large amount. Upon this ground the Prince's annual allowances from the nation were augmented. They were raised at once from £60,000 per annum to £125,000 per annum; and of this sum £25,000 a year were set apart for the discharge of his debts. To this was added a sum of £27,000 for preparations for the marriage; £28,000 for jewels and plate; and £6,000 for furnishing Carlton-house. Thus at least was the Prince relieved from pecuniary incumbrances, and if this alone were calculated to insure his quiet all might have been well. Events, however, shortly proved that there were other sources of human happiness and misery, which at all times cannot be controuled.

wick, to whom the prince was married on the eighth day of the month called April, in the year seventeen hundred and ninety-five.

Great rejoicings took place on account of the nuptials; for the people of England thought the prince would forsake his follies, abandon his dissolute companions, and show himself a man.

Nevertheless the nation was deceived: for he still lusted after strange women; and the princess whom he had sworn at the altar to

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Great rejoicings took place on account of the nuptials.] The marriage of the Prince was deemed a fortunate event both for himself and the country. The public journals of that day were lavish in their praises of the beauty and accomplishments of his illustrious spouse, and spared no pains in giving due eclat to the splendid ceremony of the marriage, which took place in presence of the King and Queen, and of all the persons of elevated rank in the kingdom. The nation testified their satisfaction upon the occasion by addresses which poured in from all quarters, and in which the *happy couple* were congratulated on their union. A circumstance, however, attended the first landing of the Princess, to which much of the domestic misery which afterwards ensued has been attributed. Mrs. Villiers was appointed to meet the Princes on her landing; and this lady, who had been in such a questionable capacity in the service of his Royal Highness, it was intimated the Princess should consider in the light of a companion, who was to direct her taste and instruct her in the secret histories of the English court. A more improper selection can hardly be imagined; and no doubt the youthful bride considered it an unprovoked insult to appoint for her preceptor and confidante the mistress of her husband.

Nevertheless the nation was deceived.] Different causes have been assigned for the fatal quarrel which arose betwixt the royal parties soon after the celebration of the nuptials. As it is a subject of peculiar interest at the present moment, it may be proper to lay before the reader the most important facts that have come to light relative to these unfortunate differences.

Some ascribe the cause of the dispute to a previous attachment of her Royal Highness. It is stated that, at the age of fifteen, a period when the heart is most susceptible of lively impressions, a gentleman from the sister kingdom, of prepossessing manners and elegant appearance, arrived at the court of Wolfenbuttel. The first acquaintance between the Duke of Brunswick, the father of the Princess, and this gentleman was formed after a hard-fought battle on the French frontier, in which the allies had been victorious. The personal intrepidity of the young officer was conspicuous, and was observed by the Duke himself, who praised his conduct on the field with the frankness of a soldier, raised him to the rank of Colonel, and appointed him one of his own Aides-de-camp.

An attachment is said to have sprung up between this gentleman and the young Princess, which excited the displeasure of the Duke.

This attachment was strengthened by subsequent circumstances of a romantic nature, into a detail of which our limits will not permit us to enter. Suffice it to say, that after the lapse of several years, and on the eve of the Princess being brought to this country to be married to his present Majesty, a wild and desperate attempt was made by the gentleman in question, aided by an Irish nobleman. This was defeated by the vigilance of her father. She was rescued from the danger by which she was threatened, and safely conveyed to our shores. The authors of the intended outrage were for some time confined in prison, but eventually escaped. The one was subsequently reported to have been killed at the battle of Hohenlinden, and the

honour and worship was treated with contumely, and abandoned to neglect and melancholy.

other fell a victim to certain visionary schemes into which he had entered with regard to his own country.

This story, it must be admitted, contains a good deal of the romantic; but, without affirming it is totally without foundation, we shall proceed to state that, within a few months of the nuptials of the royal pair, some circumstances arose calculated to disturb their domestic bliss. To what these circumstances were to be attributed we know not. They might have happened without ground of blame on either side, and might have arisen from the *secret cabals* of those who were jealous of those affections to which the Princess had obtained a legal claim; and who might have exerted a sort of Machiavelian ingenuity in creating causes for discontent which did not previously exist. From whatever source, however, this discordance of sentiment had its rise, it was soon found to exist, and there were not wanting those who, from private reasons, felt a desire to increase rather than to diminish its influence. In the end a separation took place, although the parties still lived under the same roof. In this painful state matters remained;—no mutual friend was found to step in and endeavour to procure a reconciliation. The breach became wider, and it would seem, became irreparable a short time afterwards, in consequence of the following circumstance: Among the clergymen and chaplains appointed to attend upon the late Queen was one gentleman whose ability alone, unaided by any influence, had attracted the royal favour. This individual being advised, for his health, to try the waters of Baden, and some other places in Germany, he made his arrangements for taking his departure. Previous to setting out on his journey, he waited upon the Princess of Wales, at Carlton-house, and expressed his willingness to execute any commission she might be disposed to entrust to his charge, either in conveying letters to her mother, the Duchess of Brunswick, or otherwise. The Princess accepted of his proffered service, and desired that he would call the next day for her commands. He called accordingly, and received from the hands of her Royal Highness certain letters which he was charged to deliver *safely* into the hands of the Duchess of Brunswick. He promised compliance, and set out from London. No sooner had he reached the port from whence he was about to embark, than he received an express announcing to him the dangerous indisposition of his wife. He returned to town without delay, and with some degree of incaution delivered the despatches entrusted to his care by the Princess to a person, (Mrs. Villiers,) by whom their contents were afterwards betrayed. It has been rumoured, that these letters contained matter calculated to excite displeasure in the mind of the late Queen, to whom the Prince of Wales was wont to pay implicit obedience, and that a feeling of dislike, never after eradicated, took possession of her soul. Among other offensive matter contained in the letters, it is said that the Princess, after praising the late King, as the best of men, observed that "Snuffy" meaning the Queen "did not look so kindly upon her; neither did she feel much affection for her female cousins (the princesses) who were continually finding fault with her dress, or her manner of making a curtesy, or some other trifling matter, too insignificant to be the subject of praise or blame. Yet," she continued, "these are points of the greatest consequence at St. James's Court. Mrs. Villiers, who directs these matters for me, answers the purpose of an almanack to Snuffy; she can tell to a nicety every rule that has been observed since Queen Elizabeth's time; one of which my female cousins follow very exactly, that of eating beef-steaks and drinking porter every morning at twelve," &c. &c.

Whether these are the exact facts, or only approximations, we do not presume to affirm, but certain it is from this time the chances of renewed affection became every day still more remote. A veil of mystery was thrown over the whole affair, which

has never since been completely removed, and, in the end, the Princess, after being delivered of her late lamented daughter, became the inhabitant of a separate establishment on Blackheath. This final separation took place in April, 1796, 12 months after the marriage, and three months after the birth of the Princess Charlotte of Wales. It was preceded by some negotiation, in which Lord and Lady Cholmondeley took part, by conveying to his Royal Highness a desire on the part of the Princess, to know the terms on which they were to live.

The following letter was at this period written by the Prince of Wales to her Royal Highness:

"Windsor Castle, April 30, 1796.

"Madam,—As Lord Cholmondeley informs me that you wish I would define, in writing, the terms upon which we are to live, I shall endeavour to explain myself upon that head with as much clearness, and with as much propriety, as the nature of the subject will admit. OUR INCLINATIONS ARE NOT IN OUR POWER; nor should either of us be held answerable for the other, because nature has not made us *suitable to each other*. Tranquil and comfortable society is, however, in our power; let our intercourse, therefore, be restricted to that; and I will distinctly subscribe to the condition which you required through Lady Cholmondeley, that, even in the event of any accident happening to my daughter, which, I trust, Providence will in its mercy avert, I shall not infringe the terms of the restriction, by proposing, at any period, a connexion of a more particular nature. I shall now finally close this disagreeable correspondence; trusting that, as we have completely explained ourselves to each other, the rest of our lives will be passed in *uninterrupted tranquillity*.

"I am, Madam, with great truth, very sincerely your's,

(Signed) "GEORGE P."

To this her Royal Highness returned the following answer:

"The avowal of your conversation with Lord Cholmondeley neither surprises nor offends me. It merely confirmed what you tacitly insinuated for this twelvemonth. But, after this, it would be a want of delicacy, or rather an unworthy meanness in me, were I to complain of those conditions which you impose upon yourself. I should have returned no answer to your letter, if it had not been conceived in terms to make it doubtful whether this arrangement proceeds from you or from me; and you are aware that the *credit of it belongs to you* ALONE. The letter, which you announce to me as the last, obliges me to communicate to the King, as to my sovereign and my father, both your avowal and my answer. You will find enclosed the copy of my letter to the King. I apprize you of it, that I may not incur the slightest reproach of duplicity from you. As I have at this moment no protector but his Majesty, I refer myself to him entirely on this subject, and if my conduct meet his approbation, I shall be in some degree at least consoled. I retain every sentiment of gratitude for the situation in which I find myself, as Princess of Wales, enabled by your means to indulge in the free exercise of a virtue dear to my heart—I mean charity. It will be my duty likewise to act upon another motive, that of giving an example of patience and resignation under every trial. Do me the justice to believe, that I shall never cease to pray for your happiness, and to be your most devoted

"6th May, 1796." "CAROLINE."

These letters afford abundant matter for comment, and no doubt contain the real cause of the separation, which evidently originated in the desire of the Prince, and not that of her Royal Highness. The Prince says, "our inclinations are not in our power." That his inclinations were otherwise engaged, will be intelligible enough, after what has been stated respecting Mrs. Herbert and others; but it seems a little unreasonable that a man should feel himself relieved from all obligation to his lawful wife,—nay, that she should become the objective of vindictive persecution for a quarter of a century, merely forsooth, because he can find other women more *agreeable to his inclinations*.

XLI.—GEORGE III.

Now it came to pass that the people of France pulled down the idols of their forefathers, and went a whoring after strange gods.

And they set up images, the work of their hands, and worshipped them, and a painted harlot they called the goddess of Reason.

And the Sunday, which is the sabbath, and which the Lord God, by his servant Moses, commanded to be kept holy, they abolished; so, after the manner of the heathen, they divided the month into periods of ten days, which they called decades.

And the people ceased from labour on the tenth day, and they blessed the tenth day, and hallowed it.

Howbeit, as the work of men's hands endureth not for ever, so the gods of the French soon came to nought.

Then the people said in their hearts, We will have no gods at all;

And they set up images]—By a decree of the commune of Paris, the churches were shut up, and a number of allegorical divinities, Liberty, Equality, &c. were consecrated as objects of worship; and a female, superbly attired, was publicly enthroned in the cathedral of Notre Dame, in the character of the goddess of Reason. The observance of Sunday, that ancient and venerable institution, and even the Christian era, were abolished, and a new calendar substituted analogous to that of Greece, agreeably to which the year was divided into twelve months of thirty days each, with five intercalary days set apart as a sort of Saturnalian festival; each month being divided into decades, and a respite from labour allowed on the tenth day.

Then the people said in their hearts, we will have no gods.]—Voltaire said that his countrymen always acted either like tigers or monkeys, and certainly during the phrensy of the revolution, there appeared some foundation for his observation. Their conduct, during the reign of terror, exhibited the strangest constrast imaginable of ferocity and extravagance. While they professed to worship the goddess of Reason, their actions were those of persecuting demons. M. Palissot had only being guilty of writing a comedy many years ago in ridicule of Rousseau, and he was doomed to expiate his offence with his life. He wrote to the municipality of Paris an acknowledgement of his error and of the merits of Rousseau: "yet," said he, "if Rousseau were a god, you ought not to sacrifice human victims to him." This striking expression pronounced its effect, and Palissot was released from imprisonment. On the 30th of May, Barrère introduced a decree for allowing no quarter to the English and Hanoverian troops. As a contrast to this sanguinary mandate, which to the honour of the French officers and soldiery they refused to carry into execution, the Convention a few days afterwards appointed a grand festival to be observed in honour of the Supreme Being! The President of the Convention, from the midst of a spacious amphitheatre, adorned with festoons and garlands, made an oration to the immense sur-

so they went to work and pulled down their pagan deities; they refused to acknowledge any other divinity than Liberty,—any other temple than the sanctuary of the laws,—any other worship than the love of their country,—or any other gospel than the Republican Constitution.

And they taught that death was an eternal sleep, that when men die they perish eternally, like the beasts of the field, and that the resurrection of the body was a foolish superstition, perpetually preached for the torment of the living.

And the temples of the Lord were shut up; and many bishops and priests, seeing there was no longer any thing to be made by

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rounding multitude, exhorting them to adore the great Author of Nature. During the performance of a symphony, he descended from the tribune, armed with the torch of truth, and approached a hideous monster representing Atheism, which on being touched by the torch, instantly vanished, and the resplendent figure of Wisdom occupied its place. This solemn mockery was intended to regain the confidence of the people, whose ancient prejudices had been a little startled by shutting up the churches and declaring death to be an eternal sleep.

And the temples of the Lord were shut up, and many bishops, &c.] On the 7th of November, Gobet, the republican bishop of Paris, with his grand-vicars and various other members of the ecclesiastical body, entered the hall of the Convention, and solemnly resigned their functions, renouncing, in terms of contempt, their profession of Christians, amidst loud acclamations. His example excited an enthusiastic spirit of emulation. Two deputies wrote to the Convention from Rochefort: "We pass from miracle to miracle—Eight priests of the catholic persuasion, and one minister of the protestant church, disrobed themselves on the day of the last decade, in the presence of the whole people, in the Temple of Truth, heretofore called the *parish church* of this town." Julien, of Toulouse, a member of the Convention, and a minister of the protestant church for twenty years, publicly, in the midst of that assembly, renounced his functions for ever. Dumont, one of the national commissioners, announced to the Convention that, "in order to destroy *fanaticism*, he arrests all priests who celebrate religious ceremonies on a Sunday." This enthusiast, it may be remarked, by attempting to establish his dogmas by force, was as great a fanatic in his way as any he was labouring to destroy.

When an attempt was made in 1797 to collect the wreck of the Gallican church, it exhibited a lamentable falling off. Among other instances of apostacy, were mentioned the marriages of twelve bishops; twelve others had abdicated their seats; eight had perished on the scaffold; one, the Bishop of Dol, who had acted in a military capacity, had been shot as a rebel; of the emigrant bishops forty had died in foreign countries.* This defalcation among the clergy it must be remembered took place after the revenues of the church were seized by the state. Perhaps the clergy of other countries would not be more tenacious of their doctrines were they deprived of the emoluments and honours attached to their order.

* Belsham's Great Britain, vol. x. p. 333.

deceiving the people, threw off their sacerdotal robes, acknowledged their knavery, and became proselytes to the new religion.

Howbeit, these things continued only for a time; for the anger of the Lord was kindled against the Parisians because of their abominable impieties.

And there arose an evil spirit, in the shape of Robespierre, who deluged France with the blood of its people.

And behold, Robespierre was the greatest monster that ever appeared on the face of the earth; he spared neither sex, nor rank, nor age; neither virtue nor wisdom escaped his vengeance; the philosophic Bailly, the excellent Malesherbes, the gallant Kersaint, the young and amiable Barnave, the accomplished Roland, and the enlightened and virtuous Condorcet, fell victims in various ways to this murderous ruffian.

All Paris was filled with assassins and madmen; the scaffold streamed with the blood of its most virtuous citizens, and the dominion of the

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And there arose an evil spirit, in the shape of Robespierre.] The manners of this ferocious monster are described as uniformly gloomy and austere. Laborious, suspicious, irascible, vindictive, imperious, a contemner of wealth and pomp. Barrère termed him "the giant of the revolution.—My astonished genius," said he, "trembled before his." His figure was mean and insignificant, his countenance sallow and disgusting; but such was his eloquence, that when he rose to speak his personal defects were forgotten. His voice, which in common conversation was weak and tremulous, in the tribune acquired the most commanding tone and animated expression; his whole aspect became imposing, and his eyes seemed to flash sparks of fire. During the reign of this savage tyrant, there was under every footstep a mine, in every house a spy, on every bench an assassin. M. Garat, speaking of his own intercession with the tyrant in behalf of the imprisoned Girondists, says, "I saw in a moment that he placed his pride, his triumph, and his glory, in destroying without mercy his enemies: I saw in a moment that he founded his safety in putting to death whoever excited his apprehension."—*Memoirs of Garat*, p. 57.

All Paris was filled with assassins and madmen.] At one "fell sweep" all the leaders of the Gironde or moderate party were consigned to the guillotine; after undergoing a mock trial before the Committee of Public Safety, a tribunal instituted with unlimited powers, from whose judgement there was no appeal, and whose members were at once judges, accusers, and jury. The persons accused before this murderous junto were, Brissot, Verginiaud, Valazé, and nineteen others. Among other crimes of which they were accused, was that of having caused war to be declared against England and Austria. This was notoriously a factious and malignant charge, for at the time, it was well known that both parties concurred, and with reason, in the necessity of war with that country. But the article on which they were convicted, was the vague charge of having conspired against the unity and indivisibility of the republic. Valazé stabbed

fatal guillotine, which ministered to the vengeance of Robespierre, was called the *reign of terror.*

Yet, amidst all these horrors, the republican armies triumphed in every quarter, and the hordes of tyrants fled in dismay before the soldiers of liberty.

Howbeit, it was not the crimes of Robespierre, but the principles he had prophaned, which chained victory to the French standard, and rendered their armies invincible.

At length men recovered from the terror the name of the tyrant inspired; he was thrown down from his guilty eminence, and perished

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himself as soon as he heard the sentence pronounced. The remaining one and twenty deputies, were, on the 30th of October conveyed from the prison to the Place de la Revolution, and there executed—meeting their fate with the utmost fortitude, and many of them, actuated by the noblest sentiments of patriotism, exclaiming under the guillotine, "*Vive la Republique.*"

These executions were succeeded by others equally abhorrent to justice and humanity, and apparently for no other reason than their attachment to the vanquished party of the Brissotines. In the bloody catalogue were found the names of Manuel, president of the commune of Paris, the brave and veteran Marshal Luckner, the learned astronomer Bailly, the celebrated and accomplished Madame Roland, wife of the minister of that name, who himself, indeed, with Petion, Le Brun, Condorcet, and some others escaped the scaffold, but terminated their lives no less miserably in various modes.

At length men recovered from the terror the name of the tyrant inspired.] No sooner had Robespierre reached the summit of power, than the basis on which it stood seemed to totter under him. After the proscription and immolation of thousands to his own safety, tortured by ceaseless suspicion and remorse, he sought in vain to convert his couch of thorns into a bed of roses. That terror which he had infused into the minds of all, had taken entire possession of his own. He was continually haunted with the apprehensions of approaching death; solitary and abstracted in the midst of company, he seemed only to hear the cries of the victims he had slaughtered, and to discern, through the medium of a disturbed vision, the mystic characters which portended his speedy and inevitable destruction.

On the 10th of June, Bourdon de l'Oise, a member of the Convention, had the courage to demand that the decree which affirmed the inviolability of the national representatives should be re-established, and that no member should be brought before the revolutionary tribunal, but in consequence of a decree of accusation passed by the assembly itself, instead of an order from the Committee of Safety, where Robespierre and the vile instruments of his tyranny, Couthon and St. Just, bore absolute sway. This was carried before the tyrant could recover from his surprise. From this time the party formed against him rapidly increased, and even his celebrated colleague, the artful and insidious Barrère, took a secret, though efficient part in plotting his overthrow.

In the sitting on the 27th July, all things being prepared for the downfal of the tyrant, Billaud Varennes complained openly "that the armed force of Paris was committed to parricidal hands. Henriot (said he) was denounced as the accomplice of Herbert. One man alone had the audacity to support him. Need I name him?

ignominiously on a scaffold: so were the prayers of good men fulfilled, and the shade of Robespierre now wanders among the damned;

—Robespierre." He then proceeded with energy to recount his acts of blood and oppression, and accused him without reserve of harbouring the infamous design of making himself dictator. "In order to effect his purpose (said the orator) he has resolved to mutilate the Convention, to leave only the men as vile as himself, and to inflict a fatal blow on the representatives of the people. I proclaim, I proclaim the tyranny of Robespierre!" Bursts of applause resounded from all parts of the hall. Robespierre here, reddening with fury, darted towards the tribune, while a number of voices exclaimed, "Down with the tyrant! Down with the tyrant!" Loaded with universal imprecations, he was not suffered to speak in his own defence; and Tallien immediately rose to congratulate the Convention on his overthrow, and moved that Robespierre, Henriot, and the rest of their creatures should be arrested. Robespierre, lost in amazement and consternation, submitted, without farther resistance, to the decree of the Convention, and was guarded by the proper officers to the prison of the Luxembourg, the governor of which, being one of his creatures, refused to receive him; upon which he was conducted to the Hotel-de-Ville.

In the mean time Henriot had found means to escape, and with the activity inspired by desperation, rallied his adherents. Dividing his forces into three bodies, he attempted at once to attack the Hotel-de-Ville, the Committee of Public Safety, and the Convention. The representatives of the people showed in this moment of danger much courage and presence of mind. No sooner were they apprised of the state of things than they declared Robespierre and his accomplices outlaws and traitors. Barras was appointed commander-in-chief, and a proclamation was issued exhorting the people to assert their liberty and defend the national Convention. The sections of Paris came in succession to the bar and took an oath to acknowledge no authority but that of the Convention. The President, Collet d'Herbois, in returning thanks to them in the name of the assembly, expressed his hope that the sun would not go down before the heads of the traitors should fall. In consequence of these measures the troops of Henriot almost universally abandoned him, and he himself, with the remainder, took possession of the Hotel-de-Ville. Here, at two hours after midnight, they were vigorously assaulted by a determined party of the conventional guard, headed by Bourdon de l'Oise, and other commissioners of the Convention, who boldly rushed forward into the hall of the commune. The insurgents, after a short and fruitless resistance, attempted, in the last agonies of wild despair, to turn their arms against themselves. Robespierre, already wounded in the side by a sabre, discharged a pistol in his mouth, with no other effect than to shatter and disfigure his countenance. Le Bas shot himself dead upon the spot, and Couthon stabbed himself with a poniard. Henriot, while haranguing the populace from an upper window, was thrown down by their desire, and shockingly wounded by the violence of the fall. At six in the morning the Convention suspended its sitting. The victory being now decided, Robespierre, and the rest of the criminals outlawed by the Convention, to the number of twenty-one, were immediately conveyed to the Place de la Révolution, and there executed, amidst the loudest and most universal acclamations of joy ever known. The eyes of the spectators were chiefly fixed upon Robespierre, Couthon, and Henriot, who exhibited a ghastly picture of blood mingled with dust, and covered with wounds. Robespierre was executed last, but remained on the scaffold wholly speechless and petrified with horror.

Such was the wretched doom of a tyrant whose crimes—which, in fact, had nothing to do with the genuine principles of the revolution—have done more harm, in the minds of the weak and unreflecting, to the cause of liberty and human improvement, than all the crazy effusions of Burke, and the hireling sophistry and lies of corruption.

a worthy associate of the Neros, Caligulas, the Borgias, the Pitts, and all those vile wretches who have disgraced human nature by their crimes and hypocrisy.

And these things came to pass, that men's eyes might be opened; that they might learn, that without God in the world, there could neither be liberty, humanity, nor justice, and that it is only by worshipping the divinities of prudence and moderation, that mankind can be preserved from the chains of despotism and the horrors of anarchy.

XLII.—GEORGE III.

Now King George had waged war against the French Republic many years; howbeit, the strength of the enemy waxed stronger and stronger, while that of his kingdom grew weaker and weaker; so that the bishops and nobles of the land began to despair of subduing the liberties of that valiant people.

Nevertheless the king remained under the dominion of evil counsellors, and listened to all the foolish sayings of WILLIAM PITT, his chief minister.

Nevertheless, the King remained under the dominion of evil counsellors.] The cry of *Church and King*, which at the commencement of the war extended from the Tamar to the Tweed, had, in the course of three years after the commencement of hostilities, in a great measure subsided, and the public recovered from the terror against the French Revolution which government had artfully excited. The change in popular feeling was strikingly evinced in the treatment of the King on his way to the Parliament-House, in 1795. The House was summoned to meet on the 29th of October, and the day being uncommonly fine, an immense crowd had assembled in the Park, who soon began to express their opinions on public affairs. As the state-coach passed along the Mall, violent exclamations were heard of Peace! Peace! No Pitt! No War! and the clamour gradually increasing, stones began to be thrown at the King's carriage as it proceeded by the Horse-Guards, and from a house in Margaret-street, near the Abbey, a bullet was supposed to be discharged from an air-gun, as no noise was heard, though something passed through the glass of the coach with great force and velocity. On his Majesty's return from the House of Peers, the crowd assembled in the Park immediately re-commenced their attacks. The King at length reached St. James's; and, after a short interval, he went into his private carriage, in order to rejoin the royal family at the Queen's Palace. But the rage of the multitude was not

And Pitt prophesied falsely unto the king: sometimes he foretold that famine and pestilence would consume his enemies; sometimes that they would be swallowed up in bankruptcy; and sometimes that anarchy would devour them.

Howbeit none of these things came to pass, and the evils which Pitt foretold would fall upon the king's enemies fell upon the people of England.

Nevertheless the bishops continued to pray unto the Lord; and every year a solemn fast was proclaimed unto the people.

And the clergy throughout the land prayed fervently, and besought the Lord to smite the enemies of the king, and rescue the nations who groaned under the yoke of the apostates from his word and despisers of his name.

But the prayers of the hypocrites availed not; for their tongues

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yet exhausted. The state coach, on its return to the mews, was nearly demolished by one part of the mob, while the other attempted to stop the private carriage of the King, and even to force open the doors. At this last attack the King seemed to lose his usual firmness, and was evidently struck with amazement and consternation. Upon the arrival, however, of a party of the life-guards, the populace were at length dispersed, and the King, with great difficulty, reached the Queen's house in safety.

A proclamation was immediately published, offering a reward of £1000 to be paid on the conviction of any person who should be found concerned in this daring assault. But it is remarkable that no one guilty of any actual violence was ever discovered. A man named Kidd Wake, a journeyman printer, and some others, were indeed tried and punished with excessive severity, as being among the number of hissers and disturbers of the King's peace. The punishment of Wake however was extremely unjust, for his only offence was that of having made wry faces; and this it was proved arose from a constitutional infirmity, which produced involuntary contortions of the countenance.

Nevertheless the bishops continued to pray—a solemn fast.] From the commencement of the war, a proclamation had issued every year for the observance of a fast, and a service, composed for the occasion by the bishops, was ordered to be read in the churches. The strain of these services were generally much better adapted to the priests of Moloch than of Christ, and instead of instilling feelings of penitence, devotion, and humanity, were much better calculated for rousing in the minds of the ignorant, revengeful and ferocious feelings against the enemy.

But the prayers of the hypocrites availed not.] The passionate desire of the court, and of the clergy connected with the court, to represent the war as a war of religion, is very remarkable. The cause of religion it has been observed, is a modern motive to war, invented by the Christian priesthood refining upon the Heathen. The extreme callousness of the higher orders of the clergy to the miseries of mankind, as Mr. Belsham justly remarks, is a striking feature of the profession. Wholly absorbed in the exalted feelings of *devotion*, they rise far superior to those of *humanity*. Who can

were filled with deceit, their hearts were swoln with pride, and while their eyes were fixed on God's throne their hearts were intent on the wealth and honours at his footstool.

So the infidel republicans triumphed in every quarter, and the nation began to be weary of the obstinacy of the king and the folly of his minister.

And the indignation of the people being great against the king's minister, he was compelled to retire from his councils.

And the country which Pitt found prosperous and happy, with an increasing commerce and agriculture, he left afflicted with grievous calamities, and labouring under all the evils of pauperism and bankruptcy.

Yet has his folly been dignified with the name of wisdom, and so

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forget that to the latest period of the American contest, Shipley, only, of the twenty-six English bishops gave his vote against the court; and that the late Bishop Watson, alone, half fearful, and half ashamed, ventured an opinion against the French crusade?

At the end of 1797, by the parade of a national thanksgiving, an attempt was made to blend the blood and slaughter of the war with the precepts of Christianity. In that year, the King attended by both houses of parliament, and the great officers of state, went in religious and triumphal procession to St. Paul's, to offer solemn thanks for the late naval victories. The flags and colours taken from the enemy, accompanied with bands of music, &c., were borne in solemn pomp to the cathedral, and deposited with holy exultation upon the altar. After which, a sermon was preached by the court priest of the day, the Bishop of Lincoln, fraught with such sentiments of *self-abasement, hypocrisy, and humility,* as the following: "While our enemies have insulted the MAJESTY of HEAVEN, we have HUMBLED ourselves before GOD, and ACKNOWLEDGED OUR TRANSGRESSIONS.—While they have impiously denied his all-controlling power, we have prayed unto the Lord to give wisdom unto our councils, success to our arms, and steadiness to our people, and he has heard us!—The banners which you have this day seen presented at the altar of this cathedral church of the metropolis, as the public testimony of DEVOUT and HUMBLE gratitude to the Supreme Disposer of events, are not the trophies of a single victory over one enemy, but of a series of victories equally brilliant and important over the three nations of Europe the most distinguished for their maritime power."—Thus did the state parson, with prophane and bombastic effrontery, attempt to identify a savage war of despotism, pride, ambition, and revenge, with the schemes of a benevolent Creator, who watches equally over the happiness and harmony of all his creatures.

Yet has his folly been dignified with the name of wisdom.] Mr. Belsham has delineated in a masterly manner the character of this minister at the close of his administration in 1801. "His early declaration," says he, "on the removal of Lord North and the advancement of Lord Rockingham to the station of first minister, 'that he would not accept any *subordinate situation*,' exhibited at once the extent and irregularity of his ambition. In proportion as his pretensions were high, his manners were haughty. Instead of the generous feelings and noble enthusiasm of his father, he discovered a dis-

great is the infatuation of his disciples, that he who was unsuccessful in every undertaking, they style "the heaven-born minister," and "the pilot who weathered the storm."

And Pitt was succeeded in the King's councils by Dr. Addington, a wise man, whose father had great skill in the art of curing diseases.

Moreover the doctor had long wore a wig, and presided with great gravity over all the wise men who meet in St. Stephen's chapel.

And hence it was thought that the doctor alone could cure the manifold diseases of the nation, and bring about an honourable peace.

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position selfish, cold, and artful; and it was quickly seen that he possessed no quality of youth, but its presumption. In his conduct there was never found that fearless simplicity, that dignified candour, which are the genuine offspring of an elevated mind, and the true criterion of real wisdom. At no time did he display that commanding foresight which marks a superior intellect, or that controlling prudence which knows how to avert impending mischief. At no season did he attempt to stem the torrent of *public prejudice*, and make the people *calm* and *wise*, when they were *inflamed* and *ignorant*. The stream of public opinion he submitted diligently to watch; and suffered himself rather to be carried away with it, than to aim by arduous efforts to direct its course where wisdom and patriotism might suggest. The mind of the nation, under his auspices, made no advances: on the contrary, its movement was uniformly retrograde. The *errors of the public* he laboured to convert to his *own advantage*, not to correct at the hazard of his power. He was the attentive observer of times and seasons, not the beneficent and enlightened instructor of nations. His eloquence, for which he was deservedly celebrated, was chiefly characterized by what rhetoricians call *amplification*. He possessed in perfection all the modes and subtleties of reasoning, and was copious even to the brink of verbosity. He had the faculty of speaking *much* and saying *little*; and, when silence was impracticable, he knew how to make language subservient to all the purposes of taciturnity. His solemn avowals were clothed in impenetrable darkness; and his explanations were calculated equally to elude the vigilance of the watchful and the curiosity of the inquisitive. The connexion between the means and the end appeared seldom intimate in his thoughts, and was rarely either defined in his words or exemplified in his conduct. The plans, therefore, which he designed, although prosecuted with courage, constancy, and vigour, almost invariably failed in the execution. It is remarkable, that during the *seventeen years* of his administration, no one act of patronage was extended to literature, to the sciences, or the arts."—*Hist. of Great Britain*, vol. xii. p. 168-9. This is equal to any thing in Hume or Clarendon; it is without violence, but just and discriminative, and leaves nothing to add.

And hence it was thought that the Doctor.] The "*Doctor*," now Lord Sidmouth, was pelted most unmercifully on his accession to power by his present right honourable colleague, George Canning. In one of his odes to his friend "the Doctor," he thus addresses him:—

> If the health and the strength, and the pure vital health
> Of old England, at last must be *doctor'd* to death,
> Oh! why must we die of *one* doctor alone?
> And why must that doctor be just such a one
> As Doctor Henry Addington?

It happened also about this time, that great changes happened in the kingdom of France, by the return of Napoleon Buonaparte out of Egypt.

And, again, he thus congratulates the Doctor on his filling the most profitable places with his relations :—

How blest, how firm the Statesman stands,
(Him no low intrigue shall move,)
Circled by faithful *kindred* bonds,
And propp'd by fond *fraternal* love.

When his speeches hobble vilely,
What "*Hear hims*" burst from brother Hiley,
When the faltering periods lag,
Hark to the cheers of brother Bragge.

When the faltering periods lag,
Or his yawning audience flag,
When his speeches hobble vilely,
Or the house receives them drily,
Cheer, O! cheer him, brother Bragge!
Cheer, O! cheer him, brother Hiley!

Each a gentleman at large,
Lodged and fed at public charge.
Paying (with a grace to charm ye)
This the fleet, and that the army.

Brother Bragge and brother Hiley,
Cheer him! when he speaks so vilely;—
Cheer him! when his audience flag,
Brother Hiley, brother Bragge.

Different causes have been assigned for the formation of the Addington administration, but the most probable seems to be the difficulty Mr. Pitt experienced in surmounting the bigoted prejudices of the King against Catholic emancipation. The Minister had pledged himself to obtain this boon for the Irish nation, on condition that no obstacle were opposed to the Union, but finding himself unable to redeem his pledge he resigned the premiership.

The following dialogue is said to have passed betwixt the King and Mr. Dundas, occasioned by certain unwelcome suggestions from the Minister to the Monarch :—

K. "I hope I am not pledged to any thing further in favour of the Romanists?"

Mr. D. "Your Majesty is not absolutely *pledged* to any thing further; but certainly the Irish catholics do hope from your Majesty's goodness for a further relaxation of the restraining laws yet in force; and your Majesty's servants will think it right, humbly to recommend to your Majesty a liberal and indulgent attention to their united and dutiful petitions."

K. "But how can I grant these claims consistently with my *coronation-oath?*"

Mr. D. "The *coronation-oath* was taken by your Majesty in your *executive* not your *legislative* capacity, and could only be meant to bind your Majesty to act conformably to the laws actually subsisting, and so long only as they should continue to subsist; for the legislature, of which your Majesty is an essential part, cannot by any act limit its own power."

K. *(angrily.)* "None of your *Scotch metaphysics*, Mr. Dundas!"

Now Buonaparte was a man of vast ambition, whose love of power and glory was without bounds; and finding France distracted by civil broils, he determined to make himself king thereof.

Now Buonaparte was a man of vast ambition.] No sooner had Buonaparte arrived at Paris than the leaders of the different factions flocked about him to strengthen themselves with his suffrage. In the midst of this fluctuation and uncertainty he felt the necessity of a prompt and vigorous decision. Urged by his ambition, he resolved to sever with his sword the Gordian knot, and place himself at the helm of state.

The 9th of November was fixed upon as the period of action; and agreeably to the plan preconcerted with a small number of persons, of whom the famous Abbe Sieyes was the chief, the council of elders was summoned to meet early in the morning; when, on the motion of Regnier, it was decreed to transfer the sittings of the legislative body to St. Cloud; and Buonaparte was charged with the execution of the decree —the legislative guard being placed under his orders. No sooner was this appointment officially notified to him than he repaired to the palace of the Thuilleries, accompanied by Berthier and Lefevre, and addressing the council, declared to them that the decree their wisdom had issued, the arms of himself and the generals his associates would carry into execution. "We will," said he, "have a republic founded on a *right basis*—on civil liberty and national representation. I swear it in my own name and that of my fellow soldiers"

At 11 o'clock the gates of the Thuilleries were shut, and guards placed at the principal posts in and about Paris. He then reviewed the troops stationed in the courts and gardens of the palace, which resembled a camp; and published a proclamation addressed to the soldiery at large, inviting them to second him with their accustomed energy, firmness, and courage. Things being now "ripe for dissolution," as Cromwell said on a similar occasion, Buonaparte repaired to the council of five hundred. Presenting himself at the door of the orangery, accompanied by several officers and soldiers, without arms, he advanced a few steps into the room, as if wishing to address the assembly; when an hundred voices in an instant exclaimed, "Down with the TYRANT! Down with the DICTATOR! KILL HIM! KILL HIM!" Divers of the members even left their seats and rushed towards the door, imprecating vengeance with menacing gesticulations; and Arena, one of the deputies, struck a blow at him with a poinard which was carried by a grenadier. Buonaparte, for a moment, stood astonished and speechless; for though he doubtless expected opposition, he was not prepared for a scene of such frantic violence. The officers who accompanied him at length came forward to rescue their chief, and he was persuaded to return to the soldiery drawn up in the court of the palace.

Many of the soldiers were still wavering in their opinion, when Lucien Buonaparte addressed them in a spirited harangue, at the conclusion of which they drew their swords, rending the air with the cries of *Vive la Republique*. The general, perceiving the critical moment was arrived, gave aloud the order to march, and was eagerly obeyed. The chamber of the council was still the seat of uproar and of anarchy; when on a sudden the *pas de charge* was heard, and the voices of the speakers were lost in the sound of drums and clarionets. In an instant the soldiers appeared at the door, preceded by their officers, one of whom invited the deputies to withdraw, declaring that he would not be responsible for their safety. Many yielded to the invitation; others renewed their invectives and exclamations: but the *pas de charge* being sounded a second time, the grenadiers, with fixed bayonets, quickly cleared the hall, the representatives crowding into the garden, and leaving the military in complete possession of the palace.

And the artifices which he employed to deprive the French of their liberties were the same as those which had been employed by Cromwell, Cæsar, and all the tyrants who had preceded him; and thus was the saying of *David Hume* fulfilled, that mankind would be cheated by similar wiles in all ages.

Howbeit the establishment of his power was fortunate for France: For he re-established religion, silenced the factious, drove the enemy from the frontiers, and concluded peace with England.

And thus was the wisdom of Burke confounded, and instead of France being blotted from the map of Europe, as he had declared in the folly of his heart, her population and territory were doubled, and she was rendered the most powerful and glorious of nations.

XLIII.—GEORGE III.

Now the scribes and Pharisees, and elders of the people, being assembled together in the temple, they began to debate on the expedition to Golgotha, or, as it is called, the island of Walcheren.

A certain one of their number, of the tribe of Judas, a Yorkeshireman, arose, and he said unto his brethren, Let us not argue the subject before this multitude, lest their eyes be opened, and, peradventure, they see our nakedness:

But let all those strangers be excluded, lest they spread abroad our folly in the land, and we stink in the nostrils of the people.

So strangers were all put forth from the tabernacle, and none was suffered to hear their wisdom, which is very great, even beyond description.

A certain one of their number, a Yorkshireman.] When the inquiry on the disastrous expedition to Walcheren was entered upon, Mr. Yorke moved the standing order for excluding strangers from the House, which was carried into effect. In the debate on the standing order, Mr. Windham made some observations, derogatory to the right of the public to be acquainted with parliamentary proceedings.

Howbeit, the people heard of their decision, and were exceeding wrath; because many of their sons and relations had perished in the island of Golgotha.

And it came to pass that a certain man caused it to be proclaimed through the city, saying, Lo! this Yorke-shire man has deprived us of our privileges by excluding us from the synagogue.

And when the great man saw this proclamation, he cried, with a loud voice, Fire! blasphemy! treason! sedition! the synagogue is in danger!

Then he called his fellows unto him, and he said unto them, See ye not that, notwithstanding our decree, these people have heard our decision, and now they are opposed thereto.

What must we do to them, that they become not too mighty for us, lest we be confounded by their arguments? So they took counsel together, and one said this, and another that.

At length, they resolved to call before them the author of this

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And it came to pass that a certain man.] John Gale Jones, president of a debating society, under the name of the *British Forum*. On February 19, an advertisement was posted on the walls, which informed the public that a question had been debated at the British Forum, "Which was a greater outrage on the public feeling, Mr. Yorke's enforcement of the standing order to exclude strangers from the House of Commons, or Mr. Windham's attack upon the liberty of the press?" and that it was unanimously decided, that the enforcement of the standing order ought to be censured, as an insidious and ill-timed attack upon the liberties of the press, &c.

Mr. Yorke having brought this paper before the cognizance of the House, an order was made for the printer to attend at the bar, who declared that he had been employed to print it by Mr. Jones. Jones was ordered to attend, February 21st, avowed that he was the author of the paper, and said, that he had considered that it was the privilege of every Englishman to animadvert on public measures and public men, but that, on looking over the paper again, he found that he had erred, for which he expressed his sincere contrition, and threw himself upon the mercy of the House. A vote then passed the House unanimously, "That J. Gale Jones had been guilty of a gross violation of the privileges of the House," which was followed by a motion, from Mr. Yorke, for his commitment to Newgate, and this also passed unanimously.

This harsh proceeding of the House, in which both Whigs and Tories cordially joined, was founded on the perversion of a clause in the Bill of Rights, which says, that "debates or proceedings in parliament ought not to be questioned or impeached in any court or place out of parliament." Every one, acquainted with the object of the Bill of Rights, knows, full well, that the clause was directed against the Court, and was intended to protect members, not from the comments of the people, but from the minions of the crown.

attack upon their honesty, and examine him, touching the proclamation.

And after they had interrogated him, they asked him what he had to say in his behalf? and he replied, That the laws of my country first led me to do this thing; howbeit, if I have wronged any man, I claim his forgiveness.

But his acknowledgement availed him not, and they put him in the common prison, as a punishment for speaking the truth, which, in the language of the scribes and Pharisees, is blasphemy against our holy religion.

XLIV.—GEORGE III.

Now seeing these things, there arose that valiant champion, Sir Francis Burdett.

And in all England there was none like unto him: for he feared no man, neither did he fear the party of the Whigs, nor the party of the Tories, but he beheld, with great reverence, the laws of Moses and the Prophets, as written in the books of Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights, and he walked stedfastly in their ordinances all his days.

And Sir Francis arose in the synagogue, and he lifted up his voice saying, What are these things ye do?

Our forefathers did as this man has done, and they were not deprived of their liberty; how then must this man suffer all these things?

Verily, it is not in the power of this assembly to act after this fashion; for there is no fault at all in the man.

For if ye strive together for the welfare of the people, why need ye be ashamed that it should be made public?

But ye know that it is not legal, therefore, are ye afraid; but con-

sider ye not that Magna Charta and the Bill of Rights are not forgotten by us, and by them ye must be judged.

Therefore, take heed unto yourselves that ye incline not to the right hand nor to the left, but keep in the good old path, lest ye bring disgrace upon yourselves and the land of your nativity.

Now when they heard these things, they marvelled much, and they said one unto another, this fellow is also one of them; behold he is also a blasphemer; let us consider how we may rid ourselves of this fellow.

Then there arose a chief Pharisee, Lethbridge by name.

And the spirit of this man was exceeding fierce against the truth,

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Now, when they heard these things, they marvelled.] The spirited stand made by Sir Francis Burdett, against the committal of Mr. Jones, involved him in a similar fate. On the 24th of March, he addressed a "Letter to his Constituents, denying the power of the House of Commons to imprison the people of England," accompanied with the argument which he had urged in the House of Commons. This publication was brought before the House, on the 26th, by Mr. Lethbridge, at whose desire the Speaker put the question to Sir Francis, whether he acknowledged himself to be the author, which he answered in the affirmative. Notice was then given by Lethbridge of a motion on the subject, which he made on the following day. After reading several of the most obnoxious passages, he moved two resolutions; the first affirming that the publication in question was a libellous and scandalous paper; the second, that Sir Francis Burdett, who suffered the above to be printed with his name had been guilty of a violation of the privileges of the House. These resolutions, being agreed to, without a division, a motion was made, by Sir Robert Salisbury, for his commitment to the Tower. The Speaker, having signed the warrants, delivered them to the sergeant at arms, April 6th. On that officer preparing to execute his commission, Sir Francis denied the legality of his warrant, and declared his determination not to go unless constrained by actual force, which he would resist as far as lay in his power. After a delay proceeding from the Speaker's doubts respecting his authority, concerning which he obtained the opinion of the Attorney-General, the sergeant went, on the morning of April 9th, attended by a number of police-officers and a detachment of cavalry and infantry to convey the Baronet to the Tower. An entrance was forced into the house, through the area, and the sergeant with the police-officers went up into the room where Sir Francis was sitting with his family, and acquainted him that he was his prisoner. He repeated his objections to the warrant, and declared that he would yield only to actual force, when some constables advancing to seize him, he was led by his brother and a friend taking his arms and conducted to the carriage in waiting, whence he was conveyed to the Tower.

Sir Francis brought actions at law against the Speaker of the House of Commons, for issuing his warrant; against the sergeant at arms, for executing it; and against the constable of the Tower, for keeping him in custody: in all which he failed, on the plea that the warrant was legal. His defeats in the courts of law were amply compensated to him by the numerous instances of attachment which he received as the intrepid champion of popular rights, in the form of addresses to himself, and petitions to parliament for his liberation.

insomuch that the bare recital of the same, made his hair stand on end like quills.

Moreover, the No popery men cried, This fellow perverteth the peace of the land, for the people look up to him for protection.

If therefore, we suffer him to sit amongst us, our gain will be diminished, our occupation will depart from us, and the people will scorn us because of him.

Let us, therefore seek to destroy him, that he may no more watch over our proceedings, nor throw a rein over our endeavours to get rich.

Then the chief priests, and the scribes and Pharisees, arose, and with one voice cried out, Away with him! Corruption for ever! Boroughmongering for ever! Loaves and fishes for ever! Huzza!

So they led him away to the Tower, and set a guard over him night and day, lest he should escape, and live among the people.

Then did his enemies rejoice, even the rulers of the nation, and all the loan-jobbers, contractors, placemen, and sinecurists, and all those who live on the plunder of the people; moreover, the scribes and Pharisees from the land of Eden-borough, who came from afar, crying, "*Wha wants me?*"

But the people, being incensed at what was done, gathered themselves together, and they attacked the houses of the wicked men who had sat in judgement against him.

And they demolished them, nor would they have left one stone upon another, but they called forth the armed men of the nation, both horse and foot, to guard the dwellings of the Pharisees and scribes.

XLV.—GEORGE III.

And it came to pass, in the fiftieth year of the king, that the land was filled with idolatry, and divers corruptions and abominations prevailed.

Many of the great men, even the rulers of the people, followed after the beast of Corruption, and worshipped her, and offered incense to her.

Even the birth-rights of the people were bartered; yea, they were sold openly in the market like *cattle in a fair*.

And they blushed not at their iniquities, neither did they repent of their wickedness, but they doated on these things, even as Aholah and Aholibah doated on their paramours.

And the king's sons went astray after divers women, even after harlots, and the land was filled with royal bastards.

But of all the royal concubines there was none like unto Mary Clarke; for she was of fair countenance, comely to look upon, of subtle wit, and withal much to be desired.

And the king's son, Frederick by name, doated upon her because of these things, and he went in unto her, and lay with her many times.

Howbeit she reproached him because of his unkindness. See, she said, how much inferior I am to all the mistresses of the House of Brunswick; behold they have horses, and coaches, and magnificent villas, and footmen, and servants to run before them, whereas I have none of these things.

Then the prince was exceeding wrath, and he bethought him wherewith her wishes might be satisfied.

Am I not, said he, the king's son who commandeth all his warriors, and fighting men, and who has the appointment of the officers thereof?

Then he went straightway unto his mistress, and told her, saying,

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Even the birth-rights of the people were bartered.] The evidence on the Duke of York's case incidentally disclosed an enormous mass of abuse in the sale and brokerage of places. A committee being appointed to inquire into the disposal of writerships and cadetships in the East Indies, found that a great number of such places had been disposed of in an illegal manner. Lord Castlereagh had endeavoured to purchase a seat for his friend Lord Clancarty, with a writership, given to him while President of the Board of Controul. Charges of corrupt practices were offered to be proved, by Mr. Madocks, against Mr. Perceval and Lord Castlereagh, in the affairs of Quintin Dick, but his motion was negatived: indeed, the practice was openly defended; one member stating, that the sale of seats in the House of Commons was as "*notorious as the sun at noon-day.*"

Behold I give unto thee the appointment of captains over fifties, captains over hundreds, and captains over thousands.

Now Mary, being a shrewd woman, saw that this thing might be turned to a good account.

Straightway she opened a shop, wherein she dealt in ensigncies, captaincies, and majorities: moreover she sold bishopries and rich deaneries, so that money flowed in in great abundance.

Nevertheless the thing was discovered, and great confusion arose in the land; many gnashed their teeth, others laughed heartily at the duke and Mrs. Clarke.

Many other calamities fell upon the people about this time; two of the king's ministers strove together in the field, and fought: howbeit, neither of them were slain.

Notwithstanding all these things, the year concluded gloriously with a *grand jubilee*, and the people rejoiced exceedingly seeing the king had reigned *fifty years*.

Straightway she opened a shop] January 27, 1809, Mr. Wardle, a colonel of militia, after speaking of a system of corruption, which had long prevailed in the military department, directly charged the commander-in-chief, with having suffered himself to be swayed by a mistress named Clarke, who had carried on a traffic in commissions. He affirmed that the following positions could be established by witnesses. That Mrs. Clarke possessed the power of military promotion; that she received pecuniary consideration; and that the commander-in chief was partaker of the benefit arising from such consideration. He concluded with moving for the appointment of a committee to investigate the conduct of the Duke of York with regard to promotions, exchanges, &c. During the proceedings in this extraordinary business, which occupied nearly two months and drew fuller houses than almost ever known, long and minute examinations were carried on of persons of both sexes, whose answers, especially those of Mrs. Clarke, yielded an infinite fund of entertainment to the honourable members. The defenders of the Duke were, for the most part, members of the administration and crown lawyers; on the other side were many of the members called independent, and the regular trading opposition.—That Mrs. Clarke received sums of money for procuring military appointments was indisputable; but how far the Duke was privy to her transactions, or participated in her gains, was doubtful, seeing that circumstance depended entirely on the credibility of Mrs. Clarke. Mr. Wardle's motion, being a direct impeachment of the Duke, was negatived by a majority of 365 to 123. The Chancellor of the Exchequer then moved, "That the House, having examined the evidence in the investigation of the Duke of York's conduct, and having found that *personal corruption* and *connivance at corruption* had been imputed to him, are of opinion, that the imputation is *wholly* without foundation." This motion was carried by 278 to 196. Public opinion, however, by no means concurred in the votes of the House, and the Duke found it expedient to retire. A resolution was then moved by Lord Althorpe, for staying further proceedings against his Royal Highness.

XLVI.—GEORGE III.

Now in those days the land was afflicted with a grievous famine, and many died of hunger.

And the dearness of bread sorely afflicted all ranks, even from the king to the peasant; for who is he that liveth without bread?

And the bishops, and priests, and elders of the land, having assembled together, commanded that no flour should be used on the heads of soldiers; and a tax was laid on all whomsoever used hair powder; and the people called such that did *guinea pigs*.

Howbeit the dearth increased, so that the people and the king's servants ate brown bread, *according to law*.

Now this was in the days of Pitt, the king's chief servant, who also partook of this wholesome leaven, and complained much of his bowels.

And every one of the king's household did eat of the same, and returned thanks to God that these things were not worse.

Even the warlike men of the country fed on the same, and they called it *brown tommy*.

And behold in those days there was great roguery among the bakers and mealmen, who, assembling together, communed with each other how they might get rich and starve their customers.

And they said one to another, See how rich the merchants, bankers, contractors, and loan jobbers have become, from the sweat of our brow, let us do something for ourselves; we will mix the flour in their bread, and give the swinish herd households, cones, and middlings with the wheaten flour, whereby we shall grow rich, and yet give full weight in every loaf.

For, lo! these rogues in grain feared the magistrate's standard more than God's word, and to make weight used more water in their leaven than the best flour required, insomuch that they made ninety and more quartern loaves out of a sack, whereas the standard requires but sixteen to be made from a bushel measure of flour.

Now the people were sorely vexed with these things.

Howbeit, they suffered these oppressions a long time without murmuring, till, at last, they rose in a body, and proceeded to Mark-lane, where the corn-market is held.

Here they were met by the rulers and magistrates of the city, who promised them redress.

But the chief magistrate, being a shrewd man, they dispersed, after making a great noise; for the wrath of the multitude is dangerous, when the greedy after gain disturbeth the people.

And the inhabitants of the city were merchants and opulent manufacturers, workers in fine cloths, in gold and silver, in fine silks, in jewels and precious stones, and all sorts of curious devices.

Moreover, many of them were contractors in beef, and biscuit, and slops, and waxed rich by the war and the distresses of the people.

And the multitude was much discontented, and they communed with each other, saying,

What profit have we in all our labour wherewith we labour under the sun; for have we not striven in vain, and vexed ourselves for naught, seeing that we enjoy not even the labour of our hands? For, verily, are not the fruits thereof taken from us daily in taxes? But, behold, our task-masters, even the men that oppress us, for, lo! they ride in gilded chariots, and roll in luxuries; yea, do they not wantonly live on the spoils of the wretched? Are we not even as bondsmen in our own land?

And when the people saw these evils were not redressed, they began to despair; nevertheless, they continued to labour and murmur as heretofore, and their artful oppressors, foreseeing that their grumblings would subside, continued to revel in luxury on the fruits of their industry.

XLVII.—GEORGE III.

Now the king being old and stricken in years, his eyes became dim; moreover, he was afflicted with a grievous malady.

And, behold, the wise men of the land were called together, also the learned and skilful, and such as were gifted in the art of curing diseases.

But, lo! the wisdom of the wise and the skill of the learned failed, for the malady of the king was not to be removed.

Therefore, by reason of his infirmities, he became incapable of conducting the affairs of the land.

And it came to pass that certain of the king's servants, unto whom the king had given power and authority, so that they might act under him, even for the welfare of his kingdom.

They communed one with another, and said, See ye not that the government is in our hands, forasmuch as the king our master knoweth not aught we do.

Therefore, seeing that we have so convenient a season, let us, therefore, improve it, even so that it may profit ourselves, our friends, our wives, and our little ones!

And, behold, the thing pleased them, and they straightway began to rule over the people, yea, even as with a rod of iron.

Howbeit, the people murmured exceedingly, and they said one unto another, Wherefore are we so oppressed?

We will not have these men to reign over us.

Nevertheless, they regarded not the words of the people, for they said, They are a stiff-necked generation; therefore let us humble them by adding unto their burdens.

And, behold, they set up an image, and the likeness thereof was like unto a beast, but the name thereof was *Corruption*.

And whosoever would not bow down unto the beast was called disaffected. Moreover, those who spoke against the beast were called seditious and blasphemous.

And many of the citizens were fined and imprisoned; yea, also, they were cast into dungeons, and were sent even unto remote corners of the earth.

Moreover, all the land was taxed, even all the houses and all the property.

And every horse, and every mule, and the young and the old, yea even the very dogs were taxed.

Likewise the food and the raiment, and every thing that the earth yielded.

But tell it not in Gath, nor proclaim it to the heathen, for verily the light of heaven was also taxed.

Moreover, the fine gold was become paper, the silver was changed into copper, and the commerce of the land was desolate.

And the people cried unto their task-masters, Why deal ye so hard with us?

Seeing ye have taken away the fruits of our labour, what more can ye require? Can ye have bricks without straw?

But they gave no heed unto their complaints, but hardened their hearts yet the more.

For they said, It is only by their poverty that this people can be humbled.

Therefore, when money failed, they brought forth their goods, and there was sore distress throughout the land.

Moreover, the people groaned by reason of their burdens.

And great trouble came upon the merchants, and all those who dealt in merchandize, both small and great.

Yea, even on them who dealt in meats and in drinks, in corn and in wine, in silks and fine linens, and precious stones.

And in merchandize of all kinds, and many of them shut up their shops and opened them not again; and, behold, their names were written in the book of bankrupts, where they remain unto this day.

XLVIII.—GEORGE III.

Now it came to pass in the beginning of the days of the Regency, that the spirits of the men of Albion began to revive.

Yea, they became cheerful even under their burdens. For, behold,

great things had been reported both concerning the wisdom and the acts of the Regent.

Moreover, he had professed to commiserate the sufferings of the people: yea he promised to espouse their cause, to re-establish the institutions of their forefathers, and to forward the work of reformation in the land.

Therefore, he had gained even the hearts of the people, and they greatly rejoiced at these tidings.

For they said, When evil counsellors are removed, and men of integrity bear rule, then will justice prevail; yea, virtue shall be established, and the fury of the oppressor shall cease.

And then, O Albion! shall thy glory be renewed, and thy desolation shall be built up, our goodly heritage shall be restored, even the heritage of our forefathers.

And after this manner did the people comfort one another, and they looked forward with hope that, peradventure, he might deliver the land.

But the hopes of men are vain: for, behold, in the sixth month, even in the month called June, and on the nineteenth day of the same, the Regent gave a mighty feast unto all his lords, and his nobles, and unto all the fine ladies, with their maidens and damsels, and all the great men of the land.

And he caused his palace to be adorned after a splendid manner, so as to exceed even the princes of the East.

For he had appointed unto the work artificers and cunning workmen, and all such as were skilful in working both in gold and in silver.

And the courts of his palace, with the chambers thereof, were decorated with gold, and all manner of curious workmanship.

And there were also chambers, which were called chambers of state, and, lo! they exceeded them all; for when the eye beheld them it was dazzled with their magnificence; yea, they appeared even like unto rooms of gold.

And, behold, when the guests were assembled, and the banquet

was ready, then was the Regent seated upon his throne, which was also adorned with great grandeur; for it was covered with rich velvet, and splendidly decorated with fine gold.

And his table was covered with luxuries, and with savoury meats; yea, with dainties of all kinds, and with royal wines in abundance.

Moreover, they did eat and they drank, even out of vessels of pure gold.

And, lo! the evening was warm, and the melody of instruments was heard in the gardens: for there was music, and dancing, and great rejoicing, even unto the morning of the twentieth day.

And when the people beheld these things they marvelled greatly and were filled with amazement.

For, verily, both for cost and for splendour, there was not seen any thing like unto it, no not in all the land of Albion.

And, behold, there was great murmuring among the people; and many of them said, Wherefore is all this waste? Are there not many citizens now pining in want, whom this money would have comforted; yea, it would have done away sorrow from their hearts, and have caused the eye of the mourner to weep for joy.

For, verily, is there not a time for all things? even a time to rejoice, and a time to mourn; yea, also, a time for neither?

And the murmurs of the people increased; for the beast of Corruption was not removed from the high places; neither did the Regent follow after reform, as he professed, but he walked in the steps of his predecessor, even of Charles II. and followed him in all his abominations.

And he reinstated Goliah, the hero of Dunkirk, and made him chief over the legions of his warriors.

And he reinstated Goliah.]—This was the first unpopular act of the Regent, and excited very general indignation. Either the Duke of York was guilty of corrupt participation in the brokerage of commissions, or of the most culpable connivance at the conduct of his kept-mistress. In either case, he appeared unworthy and unqualified for the high office of commander-in-chief of the army.

Another appointment by the Regent shortly after was still more unpopular. This was the appointment of Colonel M'Mahon, a favourite of the Prince, to be pay-master of widow's pensions, a place mentioned in the report of the commissioners for

Moreover, he persecuted his wife anew, refused to admit her unto his presence, and treated her with all manner of contumely.

And he placed corrupt men over the people, who had dealt deceitfully in the land; yea, who had bartered away their rights, and who goaded them with their oppressions.

And the people said, Surely we have been deluded; for, verily, it was no true report which we have heard, concerning his wisdom, his humanity, and his patriotism.

Howbeit, many believed, and were slow to believe, all that was reported concerning him; nevertheless, they have been deceived.

XLIX.—GEORGE III.

AND, during these things, there came a man unto the servants of the Regent.

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public accounts as one of those sinecures which ought to be abolished, which opinion was confirmed by the commissioners of military inquiry. The Perceval administration defended, as well as they were able, this appointment; but the national feeling was so decidedly against it, that a resolution for the abolition of the place at length passed by 115 votes against 112. Colonel M'Mahon was remunerated for his loss by the post of keeper of the privy purse and private secretary to the Prince Regent. This arrangement gave as much offence as the other. On the 23d of March, Mr. Ward questioned the chancellor of the exchequer on the duties and salary of a place with the existence of which he was unacquainted, when he was informed that the same office had been held under the late king, admitting, however, that this was not till after his Majesty's deprivation of sight.

Moreover, he persecuted his wife anew.]—The time-serving character of politicians was strikingly evinced by the conduct pursued towards the Princess of Wales on the establishment of the regency. Up to this time, Mr. Perceval and his colleagues had acted in the most honourable manner towards her Royal Highness. They had cleared her of every imputation,—restored her to the Court,—replaced her in a palace, and had done all her most sanguine wishes could have anticipated. But on the appointment of the regency, it seems, they acted under a different feeling. While the Prince her husband, was exalted to the rank, power, and splendour, of a king, the Princess was suffered to remain in her former comparatively obscure and penurious state. No steps were taken for the increase of her income; she again became exposed to the malignant calumnies of her enemies, while her maternal feelings were outraged by the most odious restrictions on her intercourse with her daughter. This new storm of persecution was carried on with the countenance or connivance of her former friends and legal advisers, and the only reason that could be assigned for their apathy was, that their present master was the vindictive persecutor of her Royal Highness, whereas George III. had always been her guardian and protector.

And, behold, he had been journeying with merchandize into a far country, where he had fallen amongst thieves, who had evil intreated him, and stripped him of his all.

And he said unto the servants of the Regent, Are ye not appointed to administer justice unto the people?

Therefore, I pray ye to receive my petition, that ye may examine into my cause, and judge between me and those who have oppressed me.

For, lo! I have suffered wrongfully these many years, even in the sight of my own countrymen.

And he besought them many days, saying unto them, redress my wrongs, and avenge me of mine adversary.

And they communed one with another, and said, What are this man's wrongs unto us, for do we not live at our ease? Why, then, should he disturb our repose?

And they said unto him, Begone; and see that thou trouble us not again.

And when the man saw that his cause was rejected, he was wrath with the servants of the regent;

And he straightway went into the Sanhedrim, where he abided many days.

And, lo, when he beheld the chief of the servants of the regent, his indignation kindled at the sight of him;

And he drew forth an instrument and slew him, so that he died, even as he entered the threshold of the Sanhedrim.

Moreover, when he had so done, he sat himself down quietly.

But the assembly were in great confusion, and they cried out one and all, Who is he that hath done this deed?

And he answered and said unto them, Behold, I am the man; therefore, do with me according to your pleasure.

And they bound him hand and foot, and they delivered him into the hands of the keeper of a strong prison; and they set a guard over him, so that he might not escape from their hands.

And they led him into the judgement-hall, where he was condemned to die; for verily he had shed the blood of man.

But, nevertheless, none of these things moved him; for he regarded not death as an enemy, but he welcomed him even as his friend; for his days, alas! had been few and evil.

And when the people beheld him, they marvelled, and many of them even wept for his fate.

For they said, He died not as the coward died; yea, but as a man died he.

And, behold, fear and trembling came upon the rest of the servants of the regent; for their hearts smote them, and they were in great dread lest there should be more Bellinghams in the land; and they, therefore, resigned their places, and fled even every one of them unto his house.

L.—GEORGE III.

Now in those days lived a famous prophetess, named Joanna Southcott.

Now in those days lived a famous prophetess.] This singular enthusiast was born in 1750, and was the daughter of a small farmer in Devonshire. The history of her delusions places her in the same rank with the Maid of Kent, Joan of Arc, and other enthusiasts, who, under the influence of a warm imagination, have entertained the strange conceit of an immediate communication with the Deity. For many years Joanna lived a servant in Exeter and the neighbourhood, where her private character, whatever opinion may be entertained of the extravagance of her fancies, was quite irreproachable. From her early years she delighted in the study of the Scriptures; and doubtless it was from brooding over the extraordinary relations of the sacred volume—of prophecies, communications, miracles, and visions—that she first conceived the idea of being a chosen subject for the divine agency. On all interesting occasions of love or business she was accustomed to apply to Heaven for advice. Sooner or later an answer was returned, by outward signs or inward feeling—a language, by-the-bye, which frequently leaves the applicant in a distressing uncertainty, sometimes as to the true interpretation, and sometimes with regard to a more important preliminary, namely, whether the answer comes from Heaven or another place. This was frequently the fate of Joanna, and we shall see, at the final catastrophe of her *miscarriage*, she began to entertain serious doubts whether the whole of her mission was not the work of the Devil. Indeed, it is a singular fact in the history of all communications from above, and throws considerable doubt over their reality, that

And, behold, she was a chosen vessel, filled with the Holy Spirit, and she prayed unto the Lord daily.

Howbeit, the devil, being provoked by her righteousness, appeared unto her in the shape of a methodist preacher, and tempted her.

And the devil said unto her, Wherefore, Joanna, liveth thou not as other women?

And she said unto him, Am I not one of the chosen of the Lord? wherefore should I follow the example of the daughters of the earth, who live according to the flesh, and not according to the spirit?

And the Devil was grieved thereat: howbeit he continued to tempt her, and he said unto her, Joanna, lie with me. Nay, she said, there is no such thing done in England; and behold thou would be as one of the fools of the land, and I as one of the harlots of the city.

And the fame of Joanna waxed great, her followers marvellously increased, and many believed her to be divinely inspired.

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they have always been made through the medium of weak and ignorant individuals, in doubtful, sometimes unintelligible language, and the person to whom they have been made has frequently been left, according to the alternations in his bodily temperament, in painful uncertainty as to their existence. To return to Joanna. It was not till her forty-second year that she felt herself called to the high office of a prophet. She was then visited by Mr. Sharpe, the Rev. S. Brice, and other divines, who, like the wise men of the East, went to ascertain the veracity of her mission. Being satisfied with her credentials, she was admitted a celestial messenger; her writings were sealed with seven seals, and not being opened till 1802, a marvellous agreement between her predictions and events was recognized, which determined these gentlemen to announce her commission to the world.

And the Devil was grieved thereat.] The story of the virgin's temptation, as it affords a specimen of her manner of seeking spiritual direction, will be best related in her own words. "After that, (her courtship with a young man,) I kept company with my brother-in-law, and then went to Exeter, to the place *where I was directed.* But, oh! what a scene of misery broke out there. After being some years in the house, the master of the house declared himself in love with me. No tongue can paint the horror I felt to hear of love from a married man. I asked him how he could make a profession of religion, and talk of love to another, whilst he had a wife of his own. He said, that his love was not sinful; *it was only a religious love,* which no man that had such a wife as he had, that was roving after other men, could help; and told me of many men that he had caught her with; and now to see a maid so mild and heavenly, endowed with every virtue—no *religious* man could help it. This made me earnest in prayer, that the Lord would direct me what to do. I was answered, that the Lord would direct me, and protect me, nothing should harm me; *but I should not leave the house, for he had ends unknown to me to keep me in it.* So in a state of misery I staid there some time; *sometimes jealous that it was a* WRONG SPIRIT *that ordered me to stay there.* After that, he took a Methodist parson into his house, who declared himself a *lover to the wife,* in my presence, and despised the husband, and wanted to set all the children against him."—*Letters to Mr. Sharpe.*

And she sealed her disciples with her own seal, whereby they were made to inherit the tree of life, and heirs of the kingdom of Heaven.

Moreover she prophesied; foretelling of war, famine, and pestilence; and many of these things, as she had foretold, by the help of William Pitt and the Devil, came to pass; so that her fame waxed great in the land, and many believed.

And Joanna having lived upright before all men, it came to pass, that in the sixty-fifth year of her age, her belly marvellously increased, and she was greatly alarmed because of the scandal thereof:

Howbeit the angel Gabriel appeared unto her, and said, Fear not, for the child thou carrieth in thy womb is of the Holy Ghost, and behold, when thou bringeth him forth, he shall be the first of all mankind, and to him shall be the gathering of the people.

And the Prophetess told those things to her disciples, who marvelled greatly, seeing Joanna was a virgin, and had not tasted of man in all her days.

Many, however, were deceived, even the priests and doctors of the land were deceived.

And she sealed her disciples with her own seal.] This wonderful talisman, which protected the owner from every danger to which he was liable in the establishment of Shiloh's kingdom, consisted only of a circle, inclosing the two letters I. and C. with a star above and below; and within the paper was written the following words:—"The sealed of the Lord, the Elect, Precious, Man's Redemption; to inherit the Tree of Life; to be made Heirs of God and Joint Heirs of Jesus Christ." The whole was authenticated with the signature of the prophetess. The number of the sealed, in conformity with the seventh chapter of the Revelations, was to extend to one hundred and forty-four thousand.

Many, however, were deceived, even the priests and doctors.] Among the number of her converts were many divines of the Established Church, besides several gentlemen of respectability. Dr. Reece, an eminent physician in Piccadilly, was completely taken in with the symptoms of pregnancy exhibited by the virgin. When the real complaint of Joanna was ascertained, the Doctor wished to turn round, and repelled, with great indignation, the imputation of his credulity. But this would not do. After a full inspection of the prophetess, in every point, with the exception of one which the delicacy of Joanna's feelings, as a virgin, would never allow, the Doctor had, on being waited upon by a deputation of her followers, headed by the Rev. Mr. Foley, declared his belief in her pregnancy.

And as the time drew nigh when the virgin was to be delivered; many anxiously waited to proclaim the promised Shiloh to the world; when lo! the bubble burst, and it was discovered, that, instead of the Holy Ghost, she was filled only with wind and water.

Thus ended the delusion of Joanna: howbeit, many of her disciples still believe in her divine mission, and are waiting for her coming in power and great glory, when the kingdom of Shiloh shall be established, and her enemies trampled under her feet.

LI.—GEORGE III.

Now it came to pass that the world was in a profound peace and there was no more war in the land.

Moreover the kings of the earth had united together, and fought with Napoleon Buonaparte, and discomfited him in many battles, and banished him to the island of St. Helena, where that he may long remain let us pray.

And George the Third, being old and stricken in years, he died, and was buried in the royal chapel of Windsor; and George the Fourth, his son, reigned in his stead.

Thus ended the delusion of Joanna.] The history of this singular fanaticism would hardly deserve notice, were it not for the opportunity it affords of remarking how narrowly the world escaped the establishment of a new religion. A little more zeal, a little more knavery, and a little more talent, on the part of Joanna's followers, might have rendered her doctrines as popular as any other superstition, with which mankind have been enslaved. There were all the materials for building up a new system of faith. There were miracles, prophecies, revelations, and visions, attested and believed; but there did not arise any preacher with the cunning and indefatigable activity of a Wesley, nor the overpowering eloquence of a Whitfield: and, moreover, that great nurse of superstition—persecution, was, to the credit of government, never adopted towards the Joannites, who were thus without any means whereby their doctrines could be successfully advocated, or their truth by their sufferings exemplified.

And George the Fourth is a glorious prince, and that he may long reign over us, with Caroline his Queen, let us pray; moreover, that their reign may be prosperous and happy, and that they may love and cherish each other for ever and ever, let us pray.

Now these are the acts of all the kings of England from William the Norman unto this day, and, behold, here are their genealogies.

George the Third was the grandson of George the Second, who was the son of George the First, who was the cousin of Anne, who was the sister-in-law of William the Third, who was the son-in-law of James the Second, who was the brother of Charles the Second, who was the son of Charles the First, who was the son of James the First, who was the cousin of Elizabeth, who was the sister of Mary, who was the sister of Edward the Sixth, who was the son of Henry the Eighth, who was the son of Henry the Seventh, who was the cousin of Richard the Third, who was the uncle of Edward the Fifth, who was the son of Edward the Fourth, who was the cousin of Henry the Sixth, who was the son of Henry the Fifth, who was the son of Henry the Fourth, who was the cousin of Richard the Second, who was the grandson of Edward the Third, who was the son of Edward the Second, who was the son of Edward the First, who was the son of Henry the Third, who was the son of John, who was the brother of Richard the First, who was the son of Henry the Second, who was the cousin of Stephen, who was the cousin of Henry the First, who was the brother of William Rufus, who was the son of William the Conqueror, who was the son of a whore.

Application.

Two great events, the American and Revolution Wars, must determine the public character of George the Third. Both these struggles were the peculiar work of the late king. He first suggested the scheme of taxing America, and it is well known that his urgent declarations to the aristocracy of the dangers of Republican principles, first seduced that body, and ultimately the nation, into the French Crusade. In both, the object was the same, namely, a denial of the right of freemen to participate in the government they support, and to ameliorate their institutions conformably to the public happiness and their inalienable rights. Both contests terminated happily for mankind—ingloriously for George the Third. America became a mighty nation, rivalling in power, and equalling in virtue, the country from which his obstinacy and folly dissevered her for ever. France, after a tremendous struggle, has obtained, by the

abolition of the privileges of Noblesse,—of feudal services,—of the power and wealth of the church,—of the restrictions on industry,—the establishment of a national representation, and an equitable administration of justice to all classes, every object for which the Revolution commenced. England, alone, has cause to mourn his policy. France and America may rejoice in his hostility,—his narrow and despotic maxims,—his German pride,—his bigotry and invincible obstinacy.

THE END.

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